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BIOLOGICAL ANALOGY IN LITERARY CRITICISM

I

VARIATION AND PERSONALITY

During the last decade the theory of evolution has been undergoing reconstruction. The speculative philosophy of Herbert Spencer is being gradually transformed into a science of genetics. In the biological realm, the observations of Bateson and De Vries on sudden changes in plant forms have thrown new light on the whole question of variation and have resulted in the theory of mutations, while the rediscovery of Mendel's law governing the appearance of definite characters in the cross-breeding of plants and animals has placed in the hands of investigators a formula which may ultimately furnish a clue to explain the origin of species itself.¹

In the mental world the genetic idea is proving no less productive. Late writers on psychology and sociology have seen that active life must be interpreted as a continuous adjustment or accommodation to the environments of nature, physical, social, cognitive, moral, and aesthetic. The general notion of genesis combined with a functional view of consciousness are gradually obliterating the boundary lines that divided the compartments in the older theories of knowledge. A stricter scientific method with its new terminology seeks to lay emphasis on those modes and processes in consciousness which mark the turning-points in

¹ A clear and concise review of the present state of biological evolution will be found in Robert Heath Lock, *Variation, Heredity and Evolution* (New York, 1907).

mental development from the "longitudinal" point of view. Special studies in the mind of animals, of the child, and of primitive races are thus leading to a reconstruction of psychological theory, social as well as individual.¹

In the light of these marked advances the question naturally arises as to the influence which these new views are bound to exert on the evolutionary theory of literary development. In the writer's opinion they point to the need of a total reconstruction of that theory which shall recognize all the factors involved and set these factors in their proper genetic relations to each other. Current theories are based almost entirely on the analogy with animal life. Popular and telling phrases borrowed from the science of biology have been applied, not always with due discrimination, to literary development. Not only does the notion of slow and gradual change in the transformation of literary species form the underlying assumption in most historical investigations, but where specific formulations of theory have been attempted, they have been couched, almost without exception, in biological terms. Critics have long been aware that factors such as individual talent or genius, having no analogues in the theory of organic evolution, are involved in the process of literary change. But a true conception of the part played by these factors is still a desideratum in literary theory, and it is upon precisely these factors that recent psychological investigation has thrown much needed light.

In great measure these strictures hold true of Ferdinand Brunetière's classic attempt to interpret literature in terms of heredity and environment and to apply the watchwords of biological evolution: *variation* and *the struggle for existence*, to literary development.² To be sure Brunetière did find a place for

¹Countless articles in different languages have appeared within the last decade on various phases of this subject. The writer here can refer the reader to only a few books which by competent authority are regarded as nothing less than epoch-making and once for all acknowledge his indebtedness to them, not only for the ideas developed in this paper, but also for the terminology employed. They are: James Mark Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race* (New York, 1895); *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development* (New York, 1897); and *Thoughts and Things or Genetic Logic* (New York), Vol. I, 1906, Vol. II, 1908. Vol. III which will deal with ethical and aesthetic values has not yet appeared.

²Cf. the Introduction to the English translation of his *Manuel de l'histoire de la littérature française* (1890), cited later on in this paper; and *L'évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature française* (Paris, 1890).

the conscious personality in his system, although this factor is not found in a strictly biological theory of organic development. He considered individual talent or genius as ultimate factors, forms of variation analogous to spontaneous variation in biology, and averred that the chief merit of his system lay in the fact that it thus reconciled a theory of development with the "hero worship" of Carlyle and Coleridge. Recent psychological analysis shows, however, that it is only partially and provisionally justifiable to consider individual talent as an irreducible residuum. As Brunetière nowhere correlates the variation in the personality with the variation in the literary product, talent or genius still remains in his theory too much a force working *ab extra*, not genetically related with the other terms in his formula. A true correlation of all the factors involved in literary development will show that variation in biology and variation in literature are processes differing wholly in kind and condition. As a consequence it will follow that the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest are not phases of literary development in any sense truly analogous to natural selection in the biological world.

How closely the theory of literary development is linked with that of biological evolution is shown by Professor Manly's recent attempt¹ to apply the theory of mutations to the problem of specific and generic variation in literature. In a suggestive article, conservative in spirit and cautious in statement, Manly has utilized De Vries' theory to explain the origin of the mediaeval mysteries, miracle-plays, and moralities. Assuming that the essence of drama consists in impersonation, he has shown how the substitution of this element or character into the trope or antiphonal lyric of the Introit of the Easter Mass resulted in the mystery or liturgical Scripture play about 900 A. D. The significant point about this explanation is that the drama came into existence at a single bound and not by gradual gradations. Antiphonal singing in the church service suddenly becomes drama in the sense that a drama is the presentation of a story in action and the impersonation of the characters concerned in the story.

¹ "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, April, 1907.

In this sudden emergence of a new literary form Manly sees a striking analogy to DeVries' theory of the mutation of biological species, first published in 1899. According to this theory

mutation forms a special division of the kinds of variation. It does not occur flowingly but in steps without transitional stages and it occurs less frequently than do the common variations which are continuously and constantly at hand. The contrast between the two kinds at once appears if one conceives that characters of an organism are made up of definite elements or units¹ sharply distinguished from one another. These units combine in groups, and in related species similar groups recur. Every addition of a unit to a group constitutes a step, originates a new group and separates the new form sharply and definitely as an individual species from the one out of which it has been produced.

Manly is careful not to substitute this analogy for a description of the real process. He expressly tells us that the "origin of new species not by the gradual accumulation of insensible differences but by a sudden definite change is true, not because it has been demonstrated for a species of plants but because certain literary forms, like certain species of plants, owe their distinctive character to the presence of one essential element." He does not deny that other literary forms may not come into existence by insensible gradations, although that proposition still remains to be proved. A new explanation of the manner in which biological species arise has helped him to free himself from the error of the current view that all literary forms came into being by slow and indefinite changes. He recognizes the fact that the biological analogy is not true in all points, for new combinations in literature are composed of previously existing elements, while the cause of mutation in plants and the addition of new elements is still unexplained.

In studying the facts of variation, literary as well as biological, two questions inevitably arise: the mode or manner of variation

¹ The conception that an organism is a mosaic made up of a definite number of units or characters was first broached by Weissmann as the result of his researches in cytology. The rediscovery of Mendel's law tends to confirm the correctness of the conception. According to this law there exists in organisms certain pairs of contrasting units or characters, both members of which cannot exist in the same individual or in the same species at the same time. But the individual units of each pair can be reproduced in combination with the individual members of other pairs in the cross-breeding of plants, thus giving rise to new varieties and new species.

and the cause of variation.¹ Manly has confined himself wholly to a single aspect in the manner and to a single aspect of the cause of variation in the literary product. After the manner of the scientists he has segregated a relatively small number of factors and has attempted to study their mutual relations. The two points which he makes, that of sudden and definite change in literary forms and the addition of some new character or unit as the cause of variation in the literary product, must be regarded as definite steps in advance, and will be confirmed, as we hope, by further examples cited in this paper. But this is only half of the story. As in most of the theories that rest upon biological analogy, there is the failure to reinstate the individual consciousness in its genetic relation to the other factors involved, and, as the result, the tendency to regard literary works too much in the light of organisms leading an independent existence of their own. If we are ever to obtain a true description of the process of literary change we must take some account of the *ego* in whose consciousness the change or the idea of the change first arose. In other words, we believe that the time has come when theories of literary development must be shifted from the biological to a psychological basis.

In using Manly's article as the starting-point of our own discussion let us guard against misapprehension. He deals with two very special points in literary variation, and it would be manifestly unjust to hold him responsible for that which he did not set out to do. In fact from private communication we know that he would give the personality due consideration in a complete account of literary change. The point which we wish to emphasize is simply this: so long as the theory of literary development rests on biological analogy and expresses its ideas in a biological nomenclature the function performed by personality in literary variation cannot be set in its true genetic relation to the other factors involved. And until the leading part played by the personality is recognized we can have neither a true nor a scientific account of the process of literary change. The individual consciousness is in reality the key to the whole situation. At the

¹ Cf. W. Bateson, *Materials for the Study of Variation* (1894).

risk of being somewhat trite we must therefore point out its place and function in the variation of literary forms.

No one, of course, has mistaken a work of art for an organism. But the consequences flowing from the essential difference between the two have not always been kept in mind by critics. In its simplest form an organism is a single living cell or collection of living cells propagating itself by means of division. The germ-cell of the young organism is developed in connection with the parent organism, in due time becomes detached, and then develops into a new organism of the same type. In some way or other by virtue of the connection of the germ-cell with the parent organism the essential qualities or characteristics of the type are transmitted from parent to offspring. This is physical heredity. In spite of this, however, variations do take place. No two organisms springing from the same parent are exactly alike; neither of them is exactly like the parent. Why, we do not know. Furthermore, according to the theory of mutations there comes a time when the young organisms differentiate in all directions from the parent organism. Physical heredity seems temporarily to lose its force. The discrepancies thus arising form the beginnings of new species, for these new and definite variations, apparently again by the force of physical heredity, perpetuate themselves, and if they be fitted for the environment in which they arise, will become established ultimately as the distinctive characteristics of a new species.

A work of art, on the other hand is, in its last analysis, but the sensuous sign or symbol for a psychic signification. It is simply the physical or material means by which the human *ego* makes itself intelligible to other human *egos*. Literature is, in reality, therefore a function of consciousness. The means employed is language, conventional signs, by means of which the ideas, emotions, and volitional impulses of the poet are conveyed to the hearer or reader. Literature is, thus, at once the product of psychic activity and the outcome of the social relations existing between men. The materials, which form the basis of communication are always some phase of human life. In the consciousness of the poet the elements making up this phase are combined in

such a way as to produce upon others essentially the same emotions which the poet himself experienced in combining them. Literature, then, is essentially a psychological and social product devised for the purpose of revealing the ethical and aesthetic values of human life. The mysterious process by which a relation is established between certain signs and certain ideas or emotions, or how it is that the perception of these symbols arranged in a certain way leads the *ego* to suffuse them with the same feelings which caused the speaker or writer to arrange them thus in the first place are questions for the psychologists to answer. Suffice it to observe that an organism and a literary work are fundamentally distinct. The latter does not exist in space except as a symbol; its period of duration is not limited by the time-span of organic life; it does not consist of cells nor propagate itself directly by division; in short, apart from the *ego* from which it sprang and from the *egos* to which it appeals, it cannot propagate itself at all. Without human society it simply could not exist.

If this conception of literature be correct, the question next arises: how does a literary type or species become established? In other words, how is a given species of a literary genus, say, the drama, perpetuated? Historians tell us that it was Christopher Marlowe who first introduced the variation which characterized the heroic tragedy of character, the type that dominated the Elizabethan period. We mean by this the dramatic species which regarded the individual as the maker of events, which held him to strict moral accountability, and which employed psychological analysis of character as the means of revealing the motives of human action—in a word, the type which lodged the force determining human fate in the individual will. Brunetière called it the psychological drama. We might define it as the tragedy of *psychological individualization*, for the individual was made to stand out as never before in the history of modern literature.

It was Shakspere who developed, elaborated, and perfected this type. By his great powers of observation and invention he raised individualization in poetry to a higher degree than any English dramatist before him, and at the same time uttered judgments on the significance of human conduct which it has taken

the English-speaking peoples until our own time fully to assimilate. In the sense then that both belong to the same species of tragedy, what is the real relation between Marlowe's works and Shakspere's plays? It cannot have been very different from the following. The great English poet by reading, seeing, perhaps by playing, the dramas of his predecessor, was so impressed by them that he made them in essential points the models for his own productions. Marlowe furnished the dramatic and verse form, the ethical point of view, the method of individualization which Shakspere adopted and developed. In other words, Marlowe's works were simply so much "copy" mentally assimilated by Shakspere to serve as the vehicles through which he might convey his own ideas, emotions, and volitional impulses to the public. This process is what the psychologists call "imitative selection," and in imitative selection the point to be emphasized is that the process is psychological, i. e., by conscious choice and imitation. This imitative propagation of ideas in society is a phenomenon for which biology shows no analogies. What survives in this case is not individuals, but *ideas*, and these do not survive necessarily in the form in which the first thinker conceived them, but in the form in which society applies them. Shakspere's perfected type has thus almost completely eclipsed the earlier efforts of Marlowe. Again the fitness of these ideas and forms to survive is not in any sense a fitness for struggle, but a fitness for imitative reproduction and application. Finally these ideas are not physically inherited but are simply handed down in symbolic form from generation to generation, as accretions to the store of tradition. This process of handing down the attainments of the fathers to the children is called by the psychologists "social heredity." From the surrounding social life each individual mentally assimilates "copies," patterns, examples, in the manner Shakspere learned from Marlowe, and in turn becomes a copy or a pattern from whom others can learn.

So far, then, as the analogy between variation in biology and variation in literature is concerned, a totally new factor is introduced into the latter. A personality is interposed, as the perpetuating and transposing medium, between every two generations of

the same literary species as well as between two related species. Shakspere's personality is the connecting link between the plays of Marlowe and the plays of Shakspere. Between the antiphonal lyric and the mediaeval *mystery* some individual consciousness was the medium. Biological development has no factor corresponding to this personality. Furthermore, this human *ego*, whenever it appears, finds itself face to face with a great body of traditions, conventions, forms, ideas, etc., from which it must learn and to which it must adjust itself. This constitutes its social heredity—environment stored in symbolic form, if you will—and social heredity is likewise a factor which finds no parallel in biological theory. The part played by the individual consciousness: its powers of selective imitation, its dependence on social heredity for the materials with which it works and its power of aesthetic invention or constructive imagination are therefore the cardinal factors to be emphasized in discussing the real process of variation in literature.

In considering now the conscious personality involved in the propagation and variation of literary species we must discriminate sharply on the one hand between the *powers* or *aptitudes* with which human consciousness is endowed, and the *content* of that consciousness on the other. The former is a question of the individual's *biological*, the latter a question of his *social*, heredity. These two questions must be kept distinctly apart, for it is just at this point that the biological analogy breaks down. The problem of the inventor or literary creator, considered as a human personality, is quite distinct from the problem of the artistic invention or product itself considered as a factor in literary development. As an organism the individual is amenable to biological law. As a member of society he, to a certain extent, is capable of transcending that law. He learns imitatively from a great number of traditions, institutions, conventions, etc.; he exercises an intellectual give-and-take with his fellow-men; in a word, he influences and is influenced by, his social environment—all of them functions not existing in the animal world, all of them factors of great importance in the production of art and literature. By the biological heredity of the individual we mean, therefore, the physical and

mental endowment by virtue of which he is able to learn from the traditions, institutions, etc., of his social environment, to rearrange and transpose the elements thus acquired in new combinations, and to eject the latter in literary or artistic form from his own consciousness.

This endowment, be it observed, is not the possession of certain chosen individuals; it is, to a degree, common to all the individuals making up the same society. Between the average man and the genius biological heredity shows wide divergence; but it is a difference of degree, not of kind. What distinguishes the genius from ordinary men is a greater capacity to learn by imitative selection from his natural and social environment, a greater power of aesthetic invention, and an ability in his judgments to anticipate the literary or aesthetic judgments which will be approved by society—in other words, assimilated and in turn made part of the social, more particularly the literary, heredity of the race. He is not endowed with any special faculties differentiating him from other men. He is a human type or variety, not a new psychological species. To put the matter in technical terms, the poet or man of letters is one whose aesthetic consciousness has been developed to the "ejective" stage. Psychologists tell us that the human *ego* passes through three stages in the development of self-consciousness. During the first stage the child, born with certain hereditary capacities or aptitudes, has to feel or grope its way amid its physical and social environment. It is subject to a thousand and one reactions upon stimuli from without which it does not thoroughly comprehend nor understand. This is the *projective* stage. After a time, by dint of repetition and imitation the human *ego* makes these impressions its own, assimilates them to its own consciousness; by virtue of its previous experience, learns to understand them. This is the *subjective* stage. Finally, in the third stage, it is able, so to speak, to eject these subjective assimilations in new combinations toward without and to use them as the norms by which it judges and influences society around it. Aesthetically speaking, we may say that the average man is the one who has reached the subjective stage of development. He can understand and assimilate in some measure the artistic produc-

tions of others. This process, in fact, constitutes one of the chief factors in education. But the literary producer is the man who feels his volitional impulses stirred to eject these subjective assimilations in some literary form, traditional or new, out of his own consciousness, that he, in turn, may make impressions upon his fellow-men.

The explanation of the individual's biological heredity is not, strictly speaking, a problem for the literary critic. He may be content to define or describe its peculiar characteristics as they are manifested in the individual's artistic productions. The critic is, however, bound to use all the means furnished by biology and psychology to interpret correctly this fundamental element in the personality of the poet or artist. Why the personality in question is endowed as it is and how it came to be so endowed are problems for the biologists and psychologists to solve. That some sort of parallelism exists between the brain and nerve centers, on the one hand, and the inventive power or constructive imagination, on the other, will be admitted by all. We may further assume with the biometricalists, such as Galton and Karl Pearson, that mental characteristics are transmitted from parents to offspring in the same ratio as physical characteristics, and make the so-called creative power of the poet or artist a problem of heredity and variation. But when we recall that in the development of the human race—at least since it began to be civilized—there is no struggle for existence, no survival of the fittest, at best only a suppression of the socially unfit, and therefore no natural selection tending to perpetuate certain characteristics which have proved their utility to the individual and to society, the question of a given mental endowment in a given individual is practically, at least in the present state of science, insoluble.

So far, then, as the biological heredity of the individual enters into literary variation as the producing cause, we may agree with Brunetière that the individuality of the poet is a variation, at present an irreducible *residuum* which we have to assume as a given factor. Future discoveries in evolution and psychology may enable us to explain this factor. Nevertheless the importance of the function which it performs, as well as its genetic relation to

the other elements involved, should not be overlooked. As the transposing medium in which literary variation takes place the individuality not only plays a part which must be reckoned with in any true account of the process, but it often furnishes the very best point of view from which to interpret and judge a literary work. Lying, as it does, between the writer's social environment and his productions, reflecting so to speak, his social and literary heredity, the personality often offers the best coign of vantage from which to understand his works, especially where a study of his life in detail is possible. Here, as from no other point, the critic may learn exactly what elements or units a given personality prefers to assimilate from its social environment. From this viewpoint the peculiar transposing and combining power of the author's *ego* may be most profitably observed. It is just this attention paid to the personality of the writer which makes Sainte-Beuve's work rank so high as criticism, and it was just this element, as we take it, that even a *naturalist* like Zola meant to emphasize, when he defined a work of art as a phase of human life *seen across a human temperament*. One observation in conclusion which brings clearly to light the discrepancy between variation in the personality and variation in the literary product. We have said above that the human *ego* which brings its aesthetic consciousness to the ejective stage of development, compared with its development in the average individual represents a difference only of degree and not of kind. This constant or fluctuating variation of the *ego* does not form the distinguishing characteristic of a new human species. In other words, the genius is not a genius because he possesses qualities or characteristics which other men do not, for if he did, these qualities could not be brought to other men's consciousness. He is a genius by virtue of the fact that the qualities which he has in common with all men are developed to a much higher degree than is ordinarily the case.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that variation in literature, whether definite or indefinite, depends directly on the aesthetic inventive power of the individual producing it. If this be conceded, how then does it come about that what at most must be considered as constant, continuous, indefinite variation in the *ego*

produces definite, discontinuous variation in the product wide enough to characterize a new literary species or even genus? The only answer to this question is that variations in literature cannot, in the last analysis, be measured by the same standard as variations in biology, because another factor—social heredity—is involved. If they could, then a definite mutating variation in literature must likewise have a definite mutating cause in the *ego* which produced it. In that case a poet like Marlowe, or the mediæval monk who substituted an individual for the part previously taken by a choir in the church liturgy, must likewise have represented, biologically speaking, a specific or generic variation of the human *ego*. The fact is that the biological parallelism simply breaks down. The producing cause of literary variation in the inventive power of the human consciousness must be measured in different terms from the variation in the literary product itself. The old truth is only emphasized more sharply that, in the application of an analogy drawn from one realm to the phenomena of another, in the transfer of the terminology of a science into the domain of art the finest discrimination is necessary, if the real relation of the factors involved is not to be obscured rather than clarified.

But the question of the mental endowment of the individual—his biological heredity—is only one half of the story of variation in literature. As has been already observed the whole content of consciousness is learned by experience. The human *ego* brings with it into the world no ideas, no items of knowledge, no beliefs, no emotions. It has simply an endowment of aptitudes or powers by means of which it acquires all these through the process of psychological assimilation, or, technically speaking, through selective imitation. All that the individual learns, he learns from his physical and social environment, from his social heredity as the psychologists say. He can create nothing in the absolute sense. He can only transpose and recombine the elements acquired. A *maker* the poet may be, but the materials of which he forms his constructions all owe their origin to a region exterior to his own consciousness. It is with the part played by social heredity in literary variation that we have to deal here. This is the sphere of

historical investigation. Here the historical critic finds his justification. From this point of view variation in literature becomes a solvable problem, both in regard to the manner as well as to the cause of variation.

The content of literary consciousness embraces a knowledge of materials, forms, and emotions. This content is drawn not only from literary tradition but from all the phases of life with which the individual producer comes in contact. When Brunetière tells us that tradition is the strongest factor in literary production, he simply means that the vast majority of writers learn far more from the materials, emotions, and forms used by their predecessors than they add as the result of their own observation and invention. A purely reproductive nature like Lessing simply repeats the same forms, uses the same motives, and reproduces the same emotional effects that are found in the European drama around him. The characters in his mature dramas, his beliefs, ideas, and some of his incidents he did draw by direct observation from contemporary life. But the significant point here is that from this study of a writer's literary and social heredity the cause of variation in a given work of art may be understood. It will be found to consist, as Manly has shown in the case of the mediaeval drama, in the combination of elements hitherto kept separate. So far as the source of these elements can be traced, we can reach definite conclusions regarding the influence which contemporary thought is exerting upon literature. In fact, where literary production rests too much on literary tradition it means that it is becoming conventional and stereotyped, i. e., losing vital connection with the life around it. Variation in literature may be defined as an attempt more or less constant to adjust literature to the demands of contemporary thought and feeling. Very few of the adjustments attempted prove of lasting value, either because the innovators do not possess the requisite inventive power or because their social heredity does not furnish them with ideas significant enough to cause permanent mutations. Only writers with exceptional opportunities will achieve variations of permanent influence. Thus the Elizabethan drama of psychological individualization followed directly as the result of the individualistic elements introduced by the Reformation.

tion. The conception of man as individually responsible to his conscience for his conduct and of his own will as the determining force in his life were beliefs underlying Protestant theology. This example will serve to emphasize the fact to be kept in mind here. The inventions and new combinations made by any writer rest on the acquisitions and generalizations of his people at the time he creates. Only on this basis can they be properly interpreted and understood. Only such inventions and combinations as prove of utility or are capable of verification in the experience of those for whom they are made will long endure.

The content of consciousness, as we have observed, is made up of certain ideas, items of knowledge, impressions of personalities, ethical convictions, religious beliefs, etc. Arising as a function to this content there will be certain emotions, appreciations of value, and volitional impulses. Now the peculiarity about the aesthetic or poetic state of consciousness is that the form which the content assumes is determined by the emotions or appreciations which arise as its function. As Alfred Stevens once put it, "Art is nature seen through the prism of an emotion." The power of aesthetic invention or of constructive imagination consists therefore in the arrangement of materials or of unit characters in such a way as to produce an emotional effect, to arouse appreciation. If this be true that emotional effect or appreciation of values is the determining factor as well as the end in literature, the question naturally arises: Why not study literature from the emotional or appreciative point of view? Theoretically there could be no objection to such a mode of procedure and in fact this is what the aesthetic critic and the impressionist often try to do. But practically such a course is beset with insuperable difficulties. States of appreciation that pronounce a literary work artistically "good" or "bad" are what the psychologists call "private meanings," that is to say, they form those aspects of consciousness which fulfil some relatively *personal* interest, satisfaction, or purpose. There is, therefore, no direct process of rendering them in terms of predication. Judgments of fact or of truth are correct or incorrect and their correctness or incorrectness can be logically demonstrated. But predicates of worth cannot be objectively determined. The latter are, on the one hand, so abstract that

they cannot be placed in a setting of cognitive meaning and, on the other, so concrete that they can be learned only directly at first hand by experience. Put technically they are a-logical or hyper-logical.¹ They escape all the formulations of reflective judgment. Psychologists have, as yet, discovered no terms into which human emotion can be transformed like sound into atmospheric waves or light into undulations of ether. Evolution has not yet registered the emotions in the chronological order of their appearance nor has it furnished a genetics of the same. All the classifications made by psychologists of whatever school are, at most, arbitrary and mechanical arrangements adapted for some practical purpose. They all rest on an imperfect attempt at analysis and an unsatisfactory method of description. The net proceeds of these efforts amount, therefore, to a certain number of tolerably well-marked emotions, generally recognized, for which certain terms are used. But this forms only a foundation of shifting sand upon which to build up a theory of literary criticism. The impressionist whose soul is delicately responsive to all the stimuli of *the true*, *the beautiful*, and *the good* may indeed perform a service in registering the emotional effects produced by a work of art. But in the main he has no means of verifying his results except his own subjective impressionism. If others do not feel the same effects he has no means of convincing them. His own ability as a writer and producer of such effects will help him little. For the discriminating reader will not be bribed by the mere charm of style into accepting opinions which his own study of the original under consideration does not verify.

The position assumed here does not imply that the power of appreciation is not possessed in common by all the members of society. The very presupposition of all psychology, that the "commonness of common function produces common experience" precludes this. Nor does it mean that "aesthetic" criticism is without its due weight and influence. Fads and fashions in literature prove that there are catholic or aggregate movements. Such

¹ An interesting article by W. M. Urban on a sort of "appreciative description" whereby such meanings may be indirectly suggested by verbal description may be found in the *Philosophical Review*, November, 1905. In Vol. II of his *Thoughts and Things*, Professor Baldwin has made some interesting observations on these attitudes of consciousness (pp. 166, 282, 348, 389).

"criticism" may carry the day, but it does it, not by criticism proper, that is, an appeal to reflective judgment, but as literature itself works, by setting up examples for unreflective imitation, by suggestion, by assertion, and by the "damnable force of reiteration" itself. What this position does imply is that it is not possible to argue about tastes and that no scientific theory of literary criticism can be founded upon the basis of aesthetic appreciation.

Those elements in literature which are amenable to the logical modes of consciousness, the manner of their combination with the resultant forms and effects, constitutes therefore the only objective basis for literary study, the only point of view from which valid principles of criticism can be derived. These elements can be analyzed into the ideas, ethical convictions, religious beliefs, types of character, actions, incidents, etc., and be historically fixed and defined. The peculiar manner of their combination will give rise to certain appreciations and the relation of elements or unit characters to each other will constitute what we know as form. The source of these materials, emotions, and forms will be found to be partly traditional, i. e., found already as accepted combinations in the earlier literature of the nation and partly new, i. e., drawn directly from contemporary life by the writer's powers of observation and assimilation. It is the business of the critic therefore to study these elements—unit characters, if you will—traditional as well as new, to trace them to their source, and to analyze carefully the process of their combination, not only in the work itself but as far as possible in the consciousness of the producing individual. In this wise he may hope to gain a true knowledge of the process of literary variation, to find the true key to literary interpretation, and to lay the best foundation for a literary standard of judgment.

Let us now attempt to apply this psychological theory to the study of a recent variation in the drama. Manly's example of the mutation of the mediaeval *mystery* might serve the purpose were it not that the lack of detailed information in regard to the personality involved as well as to his social heredity renders it practically impossible to get at the facts. Such historical lacunae do not render the part played by these factors any less real, but it is just this lack of detailed information which has rendered the

application of biological analogy to remote ages easy. Evolution can be applied to past more readily than to modern times largely because so many factors are lost from view in the course of time. This fact undoubtedly simplifies the problem, but in so far forth invalidates the result, because effects may easily be attributed to fewer and simpler causes than were actually involved in the case. An application of the analogy to some contemporary variation is therefore likely to prove much more instructive. If the detailed knowledge we possess complicates the problem, it is, on the other hand, much more likely to bring to light the missing links in the analogy.

In 1889 Gerhart Hauptmann¹ launched the *naturalistic* drama in Germany in his realistic picture of the evil effects of drink entitled *Before Sunrise*. This play was the first of a series extending to the year 1895, all of which stand in striking contrast to the type hitherto prevailing. It was Schiller who established the "heroic drama of character" in Germany, for all his tragedies with only one exception (*The Bride of Messina*) belong to the drama of psychological individualization. The new elements or unit characters which Schiller added, namely his cosmopolitan ideal of human liberty and his sympathy for the struggling middle classes, were not units important enough to cause specific variation in the traditional Renaissance type, first perfected by Shakspere. But in the *naturalistic* tragedy of Hauptmann, the forces employed to furnish the motive power of the action, the plot as well as the method of characterization and aesthetic invention, mark a discontinuous and definite variation, wide enough, we think, to characterize a new dramatic species.

In its theoretical form *naturalism* represents nothing but a conscious reaction against the ultra-classicism and the ultra-individualism of the preceding generations. The modern scientific spirit with its love of facts and inferences from facts as well as the intensity of modern social conflicts had materially altered the traditional conception of the individual's place in society. The consciousness of the discrepancy between the established dramatic

¹ Cf. Otto Heller, *Studies in Modern German Literature*, pp. 117-229 (Boston, 1905). Of course the writer here is citing Hauptmann's earlier works as the first examples of a literary variation in Germany. He is aware that Hauptmann was not the first *naturalist* in Europe.

interpretation of human action and its real significance led to a new attempt to unite poetry and actual life. Hauptmann was the first man of genuine poetic talent in Germany to make this attempt with success. He is therefore justly reckoned as the founder of a new school, the personality in whose consciousness a literary mutation was accomplished, resulting in a new species of tragedy—the *naturalistic*.

In its extreme form *naturalism* admitted no qualitative distinction to exist between art and nature; it simply attempted to reproduce nature as it presents itself to the scientist or ordinary man. Accordingly, a work of art is therefore only a copy of nature which is judged as good in proportion as it is exact and faithful. Now this attempt of the dramatist to look at nature—for be it remembered, in the eyes of the *naturalists*, human life also is only an integral part of nature—from a strictly objective point of view, had many important consequences. Man as the maker of events, manifesting the power of human volition, was at once eliminated. For the freedom of the will naturalism substituted a determinism by which man's destiny is the inevitable outcome of two forces: his inherited characteristics or aptitudes and his environment. Hauptmann has no heroes in the traditional sense of the word. He shows us no overpowering personalities. He overlooks human inventive power and the volitional energy which makes new combinations and inventions factors in social progress. In all these earlier dramas man is little more than a passive link in the chain of social phenomena.

If man's life is but the product of heredity and environment and human fate the resultant of a parallelogram of extrinsic forces then, of course, moral responsibility disappears; the much-mooted tragic guilt and tragic expiation of the drama are simply non-existent. The most that the dramatist can do is to paint the environment in great detail and trace its influence on individuals of a certain hereditary character, depicted for us, likewise, by a mass of detail. Without human volition directed by intelligence, a plot consisting of a beginning, a middle, and an end, developing logically from stage to stage, and forming a coherent totality, cannot exist, for such an action is contrary to all *naturalistic* pre-

suppositions, and cannot be found in nature. A tragic conflict in the accepted sense cannot take place, and the catastrophe when it comes must be the result of purely natural forces. In Hauptmann's earlier dramas, we find no unity of action; at times even hardly definiteness of structure. They consist, notably *The Weavers*, of a series of disconnected episodes which somehow or other simply come to an end without attaining finality.

Now, we might go still farther and point out how this suppression of the human will has affected Hauptmann's method of presentation. Where all is externalized, there can be no place for psychological analysis of character so prominent in Shakspere and Schiller. We gain no insight into the motives which impel his characters to action. For consistently they can be moved only by the forces of heredity and environment, and the essence of Hauptmann's art consists in the patient observation and reproduction of external detail. In his comedy *Colleague Crampton*, for example, critics have never been able to decide whether his hero is a genuine artist or only a boastful pretender, so little of his inner life has been revealed. The appearance of truth to life is produced by the mass of detail and minutiae which the poet's power of observation enables him to bring before the reader. All internal development of character is lost and no new ideas are ever evolved in the course of the action.

Indeed, to a certain extent Hauptmann's choice of materials is the logical result of his biological point of view, although altruistic considerations also are doubtless involved here. If man's destiny is the outcome of heredity and environment, then it is only natural that the poet should seek to depict those phases of life in which these forces manifest themselves most emphatically. He accordingly draws his materials logically from the dismal region of the fourth estate, for here, as nowhere else, the tragic consequences of inherited evil proclivities and unfavorable surroundings show themselves in their most glaring colors. At any rate we would do the philanthropic as well as the artistic purpose of the *naturalists* rank injustice to suppose that their dismal studies in black and gray were merely the result of an unnatural desire to shock us with repulsive pictures.

Lastly, be it observed, the emotions these *naturalistic* tragedies arouse in us are quite distinct from the traditional pity and fear of the heroic tragedy of character. Hauptmann's tragedies may be said to arouse sympathy and pity, but this sympathy and pity is altruistic. In the traditional tragedy pity arises from the fact that we see ourselves in the suffering hero. He appeals to us by virtue of the universal human element common to him and to us. We imagine ourselves in his place. This pity is egoistic. In Hauptmann the objective, economic, and social as contrasted with the universally human point of view forbids this. Pity arises from the altruistic and social attitude. It is a feeling *for*, not a feeling *with*, suffering humanity, something much more nearly akin to common Christian sympathy than to the tragic fear and pity of either Shakspere or Aristotle.

As we are not concerned here with an appreciation of Hauptmann's dramas, enough has been said to show that a tragedy without the traditional hero, without unity of action, without human will, and consequently without tragic guilt and tragic expiation, a tragedy whose method of presentation rests on observation of external detail and not on psychological analysis of character and whose emotional means of appealing to us are altruistic rather than egoistic, certainly represents a literary variation definite enough to be reckoned as a mutation. A new species of tragedy has come suddenly into existence. The tragedy of *psychological individualization* has been supplanted by one of *biological socialization*: man but a link in the biological chain, his life to be interpreted from the objective point of view in terms of heredity and environment. Whether this new form will become established as a permanent dramatic species the future alone will determine. But its success on the stage and its influence on all modern literatures cannot be doubted. The question of the success or failure of this variation, however, is of no moment here. The problem that concerns us is how this sudden change is to be explained; what factors have been at work to cause this sudden mutation in the German drama. This problem can be satisfactorily answered only in the psychological terms already elucidated. The detailed knowledge of Hauptmann's life will perhaps throw some light on the manner and cause of the mutation of species in literature.

Hauptmann's mental endowment or biological heredity, as we have already observed, is, strictly speaking, a problem for the biologist to solve. The most that the critic can hope to do is to define the sphere of its imitative selection and to point out the peculiarities in its method of aesthetic invention. A glance at the sources from which the poet has drawn the content of his poetic consciousness may also furnish some hints looking toward a possible explanation of these powers. As the producing cause of the *naturalistic* variation in the drama then, Hauptmann's peculiar individuality may be summed up in a few sentences. His power of imitative selection has led him to reject the dramatic traditions of his people and to assume a point of view which is essentially biological and social in the technical sense of those words. This statement holds true not only of his dramatic content but also of his method of characterization and presentation, i. e., of his manner of aesthetic invention. The strictly objective viewpoint assumed leads him naturally to draw his materials by direct observation from contemporary life. For great historical personages and great historical events he seems to have no understanding. He is a soul completely out of joint with transmitted literary conceptions. His dependence on the direct observation of physical details for the materials with which he works has fettered his power of aesthetic invention. He seems totally deficient in the power of psychological analysis, abstraction, and generalization, and produces his realistic effects by making one detail deftly follow another until the whole is conjured up before us. Lastly, be it observed, his choice of materials as well as manner of aesthetic invention are conditioned by emotions and appreciations which are essentially altruistic and social. Not only are his materials drawn from the life of down-trodden humanity but his scenes are depicted chiefly to appeal to those feelings known as philanthropic.

Hauptmann's inability to analyze and abstract comes glaringly to light in his one attempt to deal with materials in any sense historical. In his *Florian Geyer* he aimed to depict scenes from the Peasant Revolts which occurred in the sixteenth century. On the stage this drama was a conspicuous failure. For the poet here, where it was necessary to analyze and single out the dom-

inant characteristics in a picture, the details of which have long been lost, not only failed to produce a real environment but his characters also do not give us the same impression of reality as in the plays depicting contemporary life. In other words, Hauptmann seems unable to create types. He strives rather to present society *en masse*. He loves a crowd of figures, each figure representing some characteristic of the class and all taken together forming, as it were, a composite picture. On the other hand, this prodigious power to observe details is one of the chief elements which has made Hauptmann an unrivaled master in interpreting some of the subtler moods of nature. In the region of the semi-human, of the fairy, the faun, and the satyr, in the realm of fantastic idealism, first depicted in the *Sunken Bell*, Hauptmann's exquisite sensibility to every external impression, his accurate eye for the slightest detail, makes him the superior of every German poet in producing what is known in Germany as a *Stimmungsbild*, a term whose significance can be only imperfectly translated into English by the word "atmosphere."

What peculiar variation of brain and nerve center has thus rendered the poet subject to the stimuli of a scientific conception of the universe, has made him sympathize with the struggles of the working classes, and has rendered him aesthetically so sensitive to the minutest detail, we do not know. So far as his lineage is concerned we can only observe that his father and grandfather were innkeepers at a once popular Silesian watering-place. They were men marked by no special intellectual endowments, but known for their energy, honor, and thrift. As practical men of affairs they cherished no peculiar educational ideas, and so far as Hauptmann himself is concerned he is in no sense the heir of inbred classical tradition. This may help to account negatively for his indifference to classical literary models and for his interest in living social problems. Hauptmann's mother was of Moravian extraction. She was likewise a woman of practical bent, with a deep religious vein. She represents that calm, introspective, and at the same time evangelical type of religion which has made the Moravian sect one of the chief actors in modern missionary and philanthropic enterprises. From her, Hauptmann may well have

inherited much of his sympathy for the struggling masses of society and much of his fine sensibility to external impressions. In spite of its suppression in his earlier works there is also a vein of mysticism in Hauptmann's nature which he may likewise owe to his mother. This is shown not only in his power to reproduce some of the subtler moods of nature, but it comes clearly to light in some of his later works where he strives to give expression to an almost mystical idealism by means of rather fantastic symbols. But why Hauptmann should be devoid of logical analyzing power is still a mystery.

Turning now to the element of *social heredity* involved, we shall see at once that his environment and education have at least furnished an atmosphere favorable to the development of the peculiar aptitudes manifested in the choice of his literary materials and in the peculiar manner of their combination. At the outset it should be observed that he spent his boyhood in a Silesian village. Here the poet was thrown into direct contact with the misery and woe of the down-trodden weaver class, and at this time he doubtless received many of those realistic impressions of poverty, misery, and vice which he has reproduced so vividly in his dramas. It will be recalled further that the formative period of Hauptmann's life fell just at the time when German science had reached its most dogmatic stage. A sensitive nature, such as his, might easily become saturated with its spirit, without mastering its achievements, for the assumption that Hauptmann's thinking was greatly influenced by his education does not seem warranted by the facts. He was sent to the *Realschule* at Breslau. To say that he was an indifferent student there is only to put it mildly. The course of study included neither Latin nor Greek but laid the chief emphasis on the modern languages and the sciences. The atmosphere of the school may have been one of the sources from which he unconsciously imbibed his modernism. But so far as specific studies are concerned they seem to have made no impression. He was too stupid to learn mathematics, and his soul, so sensitive to impressions from without, was never able to assimilate the logical formulations of human wisdom classified in approved textbooks and doled out in diurnal doses by patient and long-

suffering pedagogues. In fact, Hauptmann as a student was a complete failure, noted for nothing except his ability to write German. When allowed to attend the University of Jena—he was not competent to matriculate—we hear only of some historical lectures which he is supposed to have listened to, and of his great interest in aesthetic and social questions, which he discussed frequently with his friends. His subsequent attempt to become an artist shows further his artistic bent.

During his formative period likewise the struggle between capital and labor in Germany was growing more acute. The Social Democratic movement, still in its theoretical and dogmatic stage, was steadily gaining in strength. The questions raised by the advocates of this movement, the idealistic theories of social reform advocated, served to bring out the glaring inequalities that existed in Germany's industrial and social organization. That the son of Silesian village innkeepers, who was already familiar with the woes suffered by the much-neglected weaver class, should feel his heart moved to sympathy is not surprising. After his settlement in Berlin Hauptmann became intimate with some of the prominent socialists in that city. Aesthetic and social problems have ever since been his chief concern.

If we ask now from what literary source Hauptmann drew poetic inspiration we find that he was led into *naturalism* chiefly under the influence of Arno Holz. This poet impressed Hauptmann very much with his clear and incisive analysis of existing literary conditions. Holz and his talented friend Johannes Schlaf, had conjointly written a book of photographically lifelike sketches entitled *Papa Hamlet*. This book was written directly under the influence of Zola's teaching and example. Hauptmann regarded this work as the very acme of consistent *naturalism* and under its inspiration and example he produced the first *naturalistic* drama in Germany. So far, then, as his general point of view is concerned, it can be traced in its literary form back to Zola. In developing it, Hauptmann has come farther under the influence of Ibsen and Nietzsche. We may sum up, then, by saying that while the explanation of Hauptmann's personality still remains largely an unsolved problem, his peculiar endowments have found

in the scientific, social, and literary movements of the environment elements well adapted to their use and development. In a word, his biological has conformed to his social heredity, and from the mutual accommodation of these two factors his works and their influence can best be explained.

If now we turn to the question of variation in this drama itself, considered as an aesthetic product, we can detect at once the new unit or character which has caused the mutation. In the light of what has been said it can be nothing else than the changed location of the forces determining human destiny. In the drama of psychological individualization we saw that this determining force was lodged in the individual will. In the drama of biological socialization it has been transferred to human heredity and human environment. The different location of this force has in each case led directly to specific variations in the structure, form, and emotional effects of the drama; has, in a word, become the cause of a mutating variation. Human fate determined by heredity and environment has been substituted for human fate determined by the individual will. These two ideas, like the pairs of contrasting unit characters in biology, are to a great extent antagonistic. The predominance of one or the other becomes the definite characteristic by virtue of which two related dramatic species can be distinguished and identified. This may be illustrated still further. Lodge the force governing human life in some occult power, inscrutable and unfathomable to mortal ken, let this power announce itself in dreams, omens, etc., and we have the Fate tragedy of the Greeks. Let the determining force rest upon happy coincidence or blind chance, and there results the drama of accident, one of the frequent types of comedy and, so far as the relation of plot to characterization is concerned, the exact parallel of the Fate tragedy.

The point to be emphasized here is, that the different location of the controlling force brings with it in each case differences in the structure, characterization, and emotional effects. In other words, the new unit character causing the mutation is accompanied by units of lesser importance and the peculiar correlation of these units forms the differentiating characteristics of a given dramatic species.

The source from which this new unit element in the naturalistic drama was drawn is obvious. We have seen that Hauptmann owed it in its literary form indirectly to Zola. But we know that this new point of view is only the cardinal induction of modern evolution. The union of its fundamental biological conception with the drama is only a proof of the far-reaching consequences following the modern scientific movement. The drama of biological socialization is the example of the influence of science upon literature which Dowden was seeking, but did not find, when he published his essay, "Science and Literature," in 1885. The cause of variation, we see, was the addition of a unit character drawn from some source other than literature itself. In the case of the drama of psychological individualization the specific changes taking place were the result of an idea developed by Protestant theology. In like manner the rise of the Fate tragedy in Greece doubtless marks also the predominance of a philosophic or religious idea evolved in the course of man's efforts to probe the mystery of human destiny. In each case the change in the drama was sudden and definite, but it had long been prepared for in other realms of human thought and simply awaited the individual with inventive power enough to combine new elements with traditional literary forms.

As the net proceeds, then, of this long disquisition, we believe with Manly that variations in literature definite enough to distinguish different species, or even genera, do take place suddenly, because our historical information will often enable us to name the individual who wrought the change, as well as to specify the year in which the change took place. Without attempting to solve the vexed question of what constitutes a specific difference—a question which even biology has not solved satisfactorily—and waiving the problem of origins, we may venture the opinion that even the origin and date of indefinite and constant variations may be fixed in the same way. The fact that most changes in literature marking only differences of variety or type usually reflect some movement in contemporary thought makes this possible. But our chief contention is that, however this be, the process of variation in literature can be interpreted adequately

only in psychological terms. Only one factor involved, that of the assimilating and inventive power of the human *ego*, depends for its solution upon strictly biological conditions. But as this very factor is one which has no parallel in the process of the propagation of organisms proper, theories of literary development based on biological analogy find no terms in which to reinstate this fundamental element in its genetic relation to the other elements. Moreover, the social heredity of every human individual has no analogue in the animal world. The process by which the materials of social heredity are utilized in literary production is likewise psychological. So far as we can now tell it has nothing in common with physical heredity.

While this psychological explanation of literary variation does not settle all the difficulties, it has, it seems to us, two very decided advantages. By setting all the factors involved in their real genetic relation to each other it furnishes a simple formula according to which literary phenomena may be classified, and it reconciles what have too often been conflicting points of view. It shows that the aesthetic, biographical, and historical methods of literary criticism are after all only three integral and organic parts of one and the same thing. These phases cannot and ought not to be separated in any really scientific investigation. The application of this same psychological point of view to the problem of natural selection in literature is likewise bound, we believe, to transform the current notions of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest in letters.

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CHAUCER'S ALCESTE

The bounds of allegorical interpretation have never been fixed and are, indeed, unfixable. The burden of proof is, of course, on the advocate of any such interpretation; but the trouble is that, when a particular suggestion of this kind has been put into type, it becomes a kind of dogma, and everybody expects those who reject it to "preven the contrarye." Those unfortunate persons who, like myself, require a modicum of applicability in a supposed allegorical figure, are obliged to take the offensive. Yet to fight with an allegory is like wrestling with a phantom. In fact, I do not know how one can actually prove that Alceste in the Prologue to Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* does not stand for Queen Anne unless one can demonstrate that Queen Anne never did exist at all.

Still, something may be done to expose, I will not say the absurdity of the theory itself, but rather the absurdity which that theory ascribes to Chaucer.¹

May we not take it for granted that Chaucer at the age of forty-five or so, after a long course of reading in allegorical literature and a considerable production of such literature on his own part, was able to construct an allegory that should not stand in glaring contrast with the concrete facts of the case? And furthermore, is it not altogether probable that, in a complimentary identification, he would have instinctively shunned disagreeable implications? Surely he had at least the ordinary amount of tact.

Keeping these two points in mind, let us read the following passage:

"Hastow nat in a book, lyth in thy cheste,
The grete goodnesse of the quene Alceste,
That turned was into a dayesye:
She that for hir husbonde chees to dye,
And eek to goon to helle, rather than he,
And Ercules rescued hir, pardee,

¹ Compare the arguments of Professor Lowes in opposition to the current theory (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 666 ff.), and of Professor Tatlock in support of it (*The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, pp. 102 ff.).

And broghte hir out of helle agayn to blis?"
 And I answered ageyn, and seyde, "Yis,
 Now knowe I hir! And is this good Alceste,
 The dayesye, and myn owne hertes reste?
 Now fele I wel the goodnesse of this wyf,
 That both after hir deeth, and hir lif,
 Hir grete bountee doubleth hir renoun!

—B, 510 ff.; A, 498 ff.

How is it possible that Chaucer should have written this if he meant Alceste to stand for a queen who was but nineteen or twenty years old, full of the joy of life, and the center of a brilliant court? Would she have been pleased? Would the king have accepted the picture as a graceful tribute to his much-loved wife? We may go farther. Would it have entered the mind of the king or the queen or any of the courtiers that Chaucer intended anything of the kind? I know this was the Middle Ages. Still, "men were flesh and blood and apprehensive" in mediæval times. Human nature does not seem to have changed a great deal in the last five or six hundred years. We can still understand Chaucer pretty well, and can generally surmise what he was driving at. But this passes everything. "Naught but itself can be its parallel."

Again, what a queer whimsy that was of the poet's, if he meant Alceste in the Prologue to be identified with Queen Anne, to put into her mouth the injunction—

And whan this book is maad, yive it the quene,
 On my behalfe, at Eltham or at Shene!

—B, 495-97.

If he had feared that some ingenious interpreter might fancy that Alceste *was* meant for Queen Anne, and had wished to forestall such a misapprehension, he could hardly have done it better. But, unfortunately, he did not reckon with us moderns, whom, when we are in hot pursuit of a source or a date, nothing short of a denial under oath will satisfy.

The passages just quoted are forcible enough in themselves, but their significance as applying only to the actual Alceste in her own proper character comes out with peculiar strength when we remember that Chaucer had already spoken of her in almost identical terms in the *Troilus*.

As wel thou mightest lyen on Alceste,
 That was of creatures—but men lye—
 That ever weren, kindest and the beste;
 For whanne hir housbonde was in iupartye
 To dye himself but-if she wolde dye,
 She chees for him to dye and go to helle,
 And starf anoon, as us the bokes telle.

—v, 1527 ff.

And later in the same book Chaucer looks forward to the time when he may perhaps celebrate Alceste in verse:

And gladlier I wol wryten, if yow leste
 Penelopeës trouthe, and good Alceste.

—v, 1777, 1778.

When Chaucer wrote these passages in the *Troilus* he certainly had no idea of equating Queen Anne with Alceste. Nobody contends that he had. It passes one's comprehension to understand how so infelicitous a notion should ever have entered his head afterward. Positive evidence in the affirmative is surely required in so extraordinary a case.

There is still another passage which throws some light upon the subject. Chaucer's plan was, apparently, to make the story of Alceste the concluding legend of the series. Love lays a specific injunction upon him to that effect:

But now I charge thee, upon thy lyf,
 That in thy legend thou make of this wyf,
 Whan thou hast othere smale ymaad before.

B, 548-50; A, 538-40.

Surely, if Alceste was understood by the court to be Queen Anne, this plan was fraught with embarrassments and perplexities of every kind. So long as Alceste was merely a character in an allegorical prologue, it is perhaps conceivable—barely conceivable—that Chaucer should have meant her to typify the queen. But how could such a clumsy and inapplicable fiction survive a concrete biographical narrative of the real Alceste's death and of her recovery from the Land of Shades? If Alceste is merely Alceste and nobody else, her story was, in every detail, eminently fitting as the acme of a series of examples illustrating the fidelity of women and their martyrdom in the cause of love. As soon as

Alceste became a surrogate for Queen Anne, her story lost all its force. No matter how faithful and devoted the queen was in her character of young and loving wife, she had never achieved the martyr's crown, nor is there any likelihood that she aspired to it.

But this is not all. Gower's vision of Venus and Cupid, in the eighth book of the *Confessio Amantis*, reminds one forcibly of the Prologue to Chaucer's *Legend*. The question of indebtedness need not here be raised,¹ but one thing may be asserted without fear of contradiction: Gower must have recollected the Prologue when he was writing the vision. Not to speak of general resemblances, we have a "flower and leaf" passage, and a message from the Goddess of Love bidding Chaucer write a poem. Now among the others who were present at Love's court Gower saw four women —

Whos name I herde most commended:
Be hem the Court stod al amended;
For wher thei comen in presence,
Men deden hem the reverence,
As thogh they hadden be goddesses,
Of all this world or emperesses.

— viii, 2607 ff.

These, he heard, were "the foure wyves whos feith was proeved in her lyves." They were Penelope, Lucrece, Alceste, and Alcyone.

Lo, these foure were tho
Whiche I sih, as me thoghte tho,
Among the grete compaignie
Which Love hadde for to guye.

— viii, 2657 ff.

Alceste, it will be noticed, is the third in order. Gower has already told her story at greater length in the seventh book.² In neither place does he mention her restoration to life.

It is quite certain that, if Chaucer's Alceste had been meant for the queen or had been so understood by the court of Richard II, Gower would have been aware of it. He was a court poet, too, and the *Confessio* was written by royal command. His

¹ See M. Bech, *Das Verhältniss der "Confessio Amantis" zur Legende of Goode Women (Anglia, V, 365 ff.)*.

² vii, 1917 ff.

introduction of Alceste in this place is certainly reminiscent of Chaucer's *Legend*. Yet it is perfectly clear that Gower's Alceste is simply herself, with no ulterior allegorical significance. This might count for little, perhaps, under ordinary circumstances, but the circumstances are by no means ordinary. Several of the heroines of Chaucer's *Legend* are present, Troilus and Criseide are there,¹ the story of Cleopatra's being torn to pieces in a pit of serpents is mentioned,² and finally Gower receives a mandate which he is to deliver to Chaucer, Venus' "disciple and poet."³ I think we have good reason to infer that if Chaucer meant Alceste for Queen Anne, none of his contemporaries recognized the intention. And I do not wonder.

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¹ viii, 2531.

² viii, 2571 ff.

³ viii, 2941* ff.

CONCERNING FITZHERBERT'S BOOK OF HUSBANDRY

In an article in a recent number of *Modern Philology*,¹ W. H. Hulme assumes in no uncertain tones that the long description of a good horse in Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry* "is derived with considerable additions and modifications" from one of two similar descriptions in English, represented respectively by a Lansdowne and Cotton manuscript of the British Museum. The similarity lies in the comparison of the characteristics of a horse with those of other animals and a woman. The shorter version found in the manuscripts is not confined to England, as Mr. Hulme seems to assume. Reinhold Köhler has pointed out early French, German, and Dutch analogues of the Lansdowne version, which was known to him.² If this peculiar type of literature is widely spread, it can hardly be called popular, or an "interesting bit of farriers' lore" as Mr. Hulme puts it, as it was evidently suggested by a better-known intellectual *tour de force*, the description of the beauties of a woman, of which Köhler has collected a large number of examples.³

The description in the *Book of Husbandry* is so amplified with its fifty-four qualities of a horse for comparison, against the eighteen to be found in the next largest list in a Dutch composition, that one must regard this elaborate scheme as an attempt of Fitzherbert, or of his immediate authority, to include in this fanciful comparison every good characteristic of a horse noted in veterinary handbooks. In the chapter, "De cognitione pulcritudinis corporis equi," in *De medicina equorum* of Jordanus Ruffus, the allusions to characteristics in other animals are slight and adventitious,⁴ and the translators of the work into Italian, French, and Provençal followed their Latin text closely.⁵ Perhaps an examination of later veterinary works will show the beginning of the tendency, which in Fitzherbert's book subordinates the whole subject to the desire of making whimsical classifications, a thing which would be incongruous in a technical work.

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¹ Vol. VI, 129-32.

² *Kleinere Schriften*, III, 33.
³ *Ibid.*, 22 ff., 418; cf. F. Liebrecht, *Germania*, XXXIII, 251; *Le débat des hérauts d'armes*, ed. Pannier and Meyer, 3, 129.

⁴ Chap. iv, *Jordanus Ruffi calabrensis Hippiatrica*, ed. J. Molin, Patavia, 1818.

⁵ G. de Gregorio, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXIX, 566, 575; *Romania*, XXXIII, 375; Meyer, *Rom.*, XXIII, 351, 356, 357.

STUDIES IN GERMANIC STRONG VERBS. III

55. KWINAN

Norw. dial. *kvīna* 'be sharp or pungent (of taste or smell),' also 'be crowded, swarm' (Aasen, *Ordbog* 410; Ross, *Ordbog* 454) probably represents an ON. **kuīna* 'crowd, press; be pungent.' Compare ON. *kut* 'fold, pen,' *kuta* 'pen, hem in,' Gk. *ἀ-δυρός* 'crowded, close-packed; vehement, loud; severe (bite), etc.' (cf. Zupitza, *Gutturale* 88), and Skt. *jināti* 'überwältigt, unterdrückt,' Gk. *βιάζω* 'overpower,' ON. *kueila* 'overpower,' Icel. *kveisa* 'gripes, colic,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* XVI, 26 f.; XXII, 236).

56. SNIKAN

OE. *snīcan* 'creep, crawl,' ME. *sniken* (st. or wk.?), Dan. *snīge* 'schleichen,' Sw. dial. *snīga* (*snēg*, *sniget*, and wk. Rietz *Dialekt-lexikon* 642) 'smyga,' *snīka* (*snājk*, *sneke*, and wk. Linder, *Om Allmogemålet i Södra Møre Hårdal* 24), perhaps here Norw. dial. adj. (pp.?) *sniken* 'fugtig og kjølig (om vind),' 'damp and cool.'—These are from a base *sneig-*, also in NE. *sneak* 'schleichen,' Sw. dial. *sneg* 'listig; umpsichtig,' Norw. dial. *snūk* 'secrecy,' and probably in Lat. *nictere* 'schnuppern, schnüffeln.'

With *sneig-* compare *snēg-*: ON. *snákr*, *snókr*, OE. *snaca* 'snake,' OHG. *snahhan* 'kriechen, schleichen,' ON. *snaka*, Sw. *snoka* 'schnüffeln, stöbern,' Norw. dial. *snōka* 'snuse, speide, snage, rapse, snylte; lufte, blæse svagt men lidt kjøligt,' 'snuff, pry about, sponge; puff, blow cool,' etc. (*snōb-*: ON. *snópa* 'hang about,' Norw. dial. *snōpa* 'snylte, snage, luske til sig, rapse, snige,' 'sponge, pilfer,' *snōpen* 'snyltende, snagende, nærig, lækkermundet,' NE. *snoop* 'go about in a prying or sneaking way,' E. Fries. *snōpen* 'naschen,' Du. *snoepen* 'schnopern,' cf. *MLN.* XXII, 236). Compare the following.

57. SNIKJAN

Norw. dial. *snikja* (*sneik*, *snikji*, and wk.) 'snylte, snige sig frem for at faa noget; skaffe sig noget ved at snylte eller tryggle,'

'sponge, beg,' Sw. dial. *snīka* (*snēk*, *snikit*, and *wk.*) 'be greedy for, sponge':—ON. *snīkia* *wk.* 'beg, sponge,' *snīkenn* 'greedy,' etc. These, with OE. *snīcan* etc. (no. 56), are compared with Lett. *snēgt* 'reichen, langen,' *snēgtēs* 'wonach langen, sich strecken; streben' (cf. *Falk og Torp, Et. Ordbog II*, 247).

For the base *sneig-* we may assume the primary meaning 'bend, twist: draw together, draw in,' whence 'sneak, snoop' and 'cling to, press upon, urge, beg, etc.' From 'draw in, shrink' comes Lett. *snaigs* 'schlank,' with which compare Norw. dial. *sniken* 'damp and cool,' i. e., 'sharp, biting.' Similarly from *snēg-*, *snōg-*, 'draw together, etc.' come Norw. dial. *snæk* 'bidsk, bitter,' *snækja* 'blæsse koldt,' 'blow cold,' *snøkja* 'be keen, sharp (of edged tools and of a cool, damp breeze).' For meaning compare OHG. *snerfan* 'zusammenziehen,' Norw. *snerpa* 'draw together, shrivel; wrinkle,' Sw. dial. *snärpa* 'snörpa; vara snål, girig,' 'draw or sew loosely together; draw to oneself, be greedy,' ON. *snarpr* 'strengh, scharf,' etc.

58. SNIPAN

Goth. *sneiðan* 'schneiden, ernten,' etc. probably do not come from *sqeit-* 'cut' (so Johansson, *PBB. XIV*, 354f.), but from *sneit-* 'turn, twist: jerk, snap, snatch, clip.' That 'twist' was the primary meaning seems probable from the following: ON. *snīða* '(ab)-schneiden, hauen; vorbeigleiten,' Norw. dial. *snīda* 'skjære, afskjære; vende til siden, gaa i skraa retning,' 'cut, cut off; turn aside, go slanting,' ON., NIcel. *sneiða* 'cut into slices; taunt; walk zigzag,' Norw. dial. *sneida* 'svinge, dreie til siden; slaa eller hugge til siden; snappe efter noget; stikle paa en,' 'swing, turn aside, dash aside; snatch at; snap at (a person),' *snida* 'sætte skjevt; vride paa, dreie paa (især om tale),' 'make crooked, distort,' *snidug* 'smidig, bøelig i lemmerne; snedig, listig,' 'lithe, limber; wily, sly,' Sw. *sned* 'schief, schräg,' Dan. *snedig* 'listig, schlau, verschlagen,' MLG. *snēdīch*, *sneidīch* 'listig, schlau, gewandt,' NHG. *schnēdig*.

Such meanings as 'lithe, limber; sly, wily,' can hardly come from 'cut.' It is true that we might have 'cut, separate, turn aside,' but not 'lithe, limber.' The base *sneit-* 'turn, twist; snap, snatch,

clip' may come from *snēi-*. Compare Norw. dial. *snipa* 'snatch, filch,' MHG. *snipfen* 'schnappen,' Du. *snippen*, NE. *snip* 'cut off with a quick stroke,' from *snēib-* (*snēb(h)-*): Norw. dial. *snaapa* 'hasten,' *sava* 'pry around, filch,' NHG. *schnappen*, NE. *snap*, etc.); NE. *snick* 'snip, clip,' Du. dial. *snikken* 'knippen,' Norw. dial. *snikka* *skjære med eet snit*'

59. DRIFAN

For ON. *prifa* 'grasp, seize,' refl. 'thrive,' etc. I have assumed the primary meaning 'press,' whence 'grasp' and 'be compact' in the above; 'tread' in Lith. *trypiù* 'trete, stampfe,' and 'press, rub' in Lett. *trēpju* 'beschmiere' (cf. *MLN.* XVIII, 16; *IE. a²: a²i: a²u* 62). I now find the meaning 'press' in the strong verb NWest Fries. *tria* (Siebs in Paul's *Grundriss*² 1309), *triuwe* (Feitsma, *De Vlugge Fries* 84) 'drücken.' This probably represents OFries. **thriva*, which would exactly correspond to the strong verb in ON., etc.

60. ÚJAN

Norw. dial. *ȳ* (pret. *au*, *ȳu*, also wk. Ross, *Ordbog* 922) 'vrimle,' 'swarm, teem':—ON., Icel. *ua* 'swarm, teem,' *ui* 'swarm, crowd,' Norw. dial. *aua* 'mylre, vrimle,' 'swarm, teem.' Perhaps 'roll, crawl, creep,' is the original meaning here. Compare Norw. dial. *aula* 'krybe; mylre,' 'kriechen; wimmeln,' *ula ylja*, *uldra*, *yldra*, *ulma* 'mylre, vrimle' with Gk. *εὐλῆ* 'worm, maggot,' *ελμύρις* 'tape-worm,' Skt. *vālati* 'wendet sich, dreht sich,' etc.; Norw. dial. *aura* *ȝyra*, *urja*, *yrja* 'mylre, vrimle': Goth. *waurms* 'Wurm,' Lat. *vermis*, Gk. *þόμος* 'wood-worm,' with which compare Du. *wremelen*, *wriemelen*, Dan. *vrimle* 'wimmeln'; Norw. dial. *vama*, *vaama*, *vamla*, *vamra* 'gaa tumlende, gaa i ørsken,' 'be dizzy, stagger': OHG. *wamezzen*, *wimezzen*, MHG. *wimmen*, *wimelen* 'sich regen, wimmeln,' OHG. *wiuman* 'wimmeln' (cf. Falk og Torp, *Ordbog* II, 446); Westf. *wibbeln* 'wimmeln': EFries. *wibbeln*, *wabbeln* 'sich hin und her bewegen,' OHG. *wabelen* 'in geschäftiger Bewegung sein,' MHG. *webelen* 'schwanken,' OE. *wafian* 'wave,' etc.

61. URJAN

Norw. dial. *yrja* (pret. *aur*, *öur*, also wk. Ross, *Ordbog* 924) 'vrimle,' 'wimmeln':—Norw. dial. *urja*, *aura*, *øyra*, 'wimmeln,' *yrja*, *urja*, *aur* 'Gewimmel.' Probably related as given in no. 60 above. Or, if the primary meaning was 'scatter, pour out,' as in Norw. *ysja* 'mylre frem, drysse frem (om bitte smaa dyr),' 'swarm out, scatter out,' *usla* 'fyge (om støv, snee),' 'stieben,' ON. *usle* 'ashes,' we may compare *yrja* 'wimmeln' with Norw. dial. *yrja* 'fall as dew or fine rain,' Sw. *yra* 'stöbern, wirbeln, fliegen, spritzen,' ON., Icel. *ýra* 'let fall in small drops, strew, sprinkle; drizzle,' ON., *úr* 'drizzle; sparks,' *ver* 'sea,' Skt. *vār(i)* 'Wasser,' etc.

62. DYKA

Sw. dial. *dyka* (pret. *dök*, *dök*, sup. *dyki* or *dykt*) 'springa fort; hålla oväsen, kifva, tråta på ett stormande sätt, skoja och svåra; hastigt anfalla, rusa på,' 'rush along, storm, scold; attack, abuse':—Sw. dial. *dukå* 'bullra, larma,' 'poltern, rasen,' early Dan. *dyge* 'løbe, skynde sig': MHG. *tocken* 'Flatterhaftigkeit,' *tucken*, *tücken* 'eine schnelle Bewegung machen, bes. nach unten, sich beugen, neigen,' *tüchen* 'tauchen,' etc., Av. *dwōzən* 'sie flattern,' Skt. *dhvajá-s, -m* 'Fahne,' ON. *dúkr* 'Tuch,' etc. (cf. IE. *a²*: *a²i*: *a²u* 74 f.). Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 139.

63. HUFAN

Norw. dial. adj. (pp. ?) *hoven* 'hoven, opsvulmet,' Dan. *hoven* 'geschwollen, aufgedunsen, dick; aufgeblasen' (not the same as Norw. dial. *hoven* 'hævet, opløftet,' pp. of *hevja* 'heben'):—Norw. dial. *hovna*, Dan. *hovne* 'schwellen, an- aufschwellen, sich ausdehnen, etc.,' may be compared with Skt. *çōpha-s* 'Geschwulst, Geschwür, Beule' and Lith. *szupù*, *szupti* 'faul, morsch werden (von Holz),' base *keueph-* from *keue-* in Skt. *çváyati* 'schwillt an,' etc., whence also *keueb-* in NIcel. *hvap* 'dropsical flesh,' Norw. dial. *kvap* 'en blød el. fugtig masse,' *kvapen* 'blød, fugtig, vædskefuld; opsvulmet, aaben, gabende (om saar);' *keyes-* in Norw. dial. (pp. ?) *hosen* 'spongy, porous; dropsical,' *hosna* 'become spongy, bloat,' Gk. *κύστις* 'bladder, bag,' *κύστη*· *ἀρτος σποργύτης*, Skt.

çávas 'Starke, Übermacht,' etc. Here also belong OE. *hwelian* 'suppurate; make to suppurate,' Lith. *szvelnūs* 'weich, sanft anzu-fassen,' Lat. *colostra* 'beestings' (*Class. Phil.* III, 81), and Lith. *szuñas* 'stattlich, vortrefflich,' *szaūnas* 'tūchtig, brav,' with which compare Skt. *çára-s* 'stark, tapfer.' For other related words see Walde, *Lat. Et. Wb.* 108 f.

64. LÜAN

An adj. in the form of a pp. of the above is found in ON., NIcel. *lūnn* 'worn out, exhausted,' Norw. dial. *lūen* 'udmattet, døsig, slov,' 'exhausted, stupid,' OSw. *lūin* 'ohnmächtig.' Nearest related are Norw. dial. *lu* 'exhausted,' ON., NIcel. *lūi* 'weariness, exhaustion,' NIcel. *lýja* 'tire, fatigue,' *lýjast* 'become tired, exhausted,' ON. *lýja* 'entkräften, erschöpfen' (probably not the same as *lýja* 'schlagen, zerquetschen').

These words are usually referred to Skt. *lundti* 'schneidet, schneidet ab,' etc. But in meaning they are better combined with Lith. *liauti* 'aufhören,' Pruss. *auläut* 'sterben,' Czech *leviti* 'nachlassen,' Lett. *ljaut* 'zulassen, erlauben,' Goth. *lēwjan* 'ver-raten,' etc. Here also I should put Gk. $\lambda\acute{\nu}\omega$ 'loose,' Lat. *luo*, separating them from Skt. *lundti* 'schneidet.'

The base *lēu-* of the above is also in the following: ON. *lauss* 'frei, lose, verfallen, nicht mehr gültig, schwach,' Goth. *fraliusan* 'verlieren,' etc.—ON. *lūta* 'sich beugen; nachgeben' (:Czech *leviti* 'nachlassen'), Goth. *lutōn* 'betrügen' (:*lēwjan* 'verraten'), Welsh *lluddled* 'Müdigkeit' (:ON. *lūi* 'weariness'), Lith. *liūnas* 'traurig,' etc.—MLG. *lūren* 'lauern; betrügen,' ON. *lūra* 'doze, nap,' Norw. dial. *lūra* 'hang the head; doze,' *lūr*, *lūren* 'mat, døsig,' 'tired,' OE. *lēoran* 'depart, pass away; die.'—Norw. dial. *lūv* 'with bowed head,' *lūva* 'bow, bend, crouch, bend down the head,' with which compare MDu. *ghelöve*, Du. *loof* 'matt, erschöpft,' Gk. $\lambda\acute{\nu}\pi\acute{\nu}\omega$ 'grieve,' pass. 'mourn' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *PBB*. XXVI, 570).—Gk. $\lambda\acute{\nu}\gamma\acute{\nu}\zeta\omega$ 'bend, twist,' ON. *lykna* 'bend the knees,' Norw. dial. *lȳkja* 'bøie sig sammen,' *loken* 'udmattet, slov af anstrengelse,' MHG. *sich lüchen* 'sich zurückziehen, ducken,' Lat. *lūgeo* 'mourn,' etc.

65. NEUTAN

Goth. *niutan* 'erlangen, geniessen,' *ganiutan* 'fangen,' etc. have been compared with Lith. *naudà* 'Nutzen, Habe,' *naūdyju* 'begehre,' and also with Skt. *nuddti* 'stösst, drängt, treibt an, vertreibt' (cf. J. Schmidt, *Voc.* I, 156; Meringer, *IF.* XVIII, 235).

This is not the usually accepted explanation but is probably the correct one, though not in just the way Meringer takes it. For the base *neud-* we may therefore assume the primary meaning 'chase, drive,' whence 'catch, gain, enjoy.' This may go back to a primitive base *neu-* in Skt. *nāvataē*, *nāuti* 'bewegt sich, wendet sich,' *nāvayati* 'bewegt vom Platze, wendet.'

Here also may belong OHG. *niot* 'dringendes lebhaftes Verlangen, eifriges Streben,' OS. *niud* 'Verlangen,' OE. *nēod* 'desire, zeal, earnestness, pleasure.' These go back to pre-Germ. **neutō-* or **neudho-*. In the latter case they may be compared directly with Lith. *naūdyju* 'begehre.'

66. NYTA

Sw. dial. *nyta* 'våga, töras,' 'dare' (pret. *nōt*, sup. *nōte*, and wk. Linder 25, 117).—This is an originally weak verb probably related to the above. Compare Sw. dial. *nyter* 'fornöjd, glad, treflig; angelägen, begärlig,' 'cheerful, friendly; eager,' ON. *nytr* 'nützlich; trefflich, herrlich,' NIcel. *nytur* 'fit, able,' and the words given under no. 65.

67. SMÝTA

Norw. dial. *smýta* (*smaut*, *smote*, and wk., Aasen, *Ordbog* 714, Ross, *Ordbog* 719) 'liste bort, före i skjul,' 'slip or sneak anything away' is from a base *smēud-*, parallel in the development of its meanings with *smēid-* in no. 11 above, Vol. IV, 496 f. Compare the following: Norw. dial. *smýta*, *smøyta*, 'liste (bort, frem)', Dan. *smutte* 'schlüpfen': Sw. *smīta* 'schleichen, sich drücken'; Norw. dial. *smøyta* 'kyses, kjæle med hinanden,' 'caress each other,' MLG. *smotteren* 'schmeicheln, liebkosen,' Norw. dial. *smūta*, MHG. *smutzen* 'schmunzeln': Norw. dial. *smiten* 'einschmeichelnd,' Lett. *smaidit* 'schmeicheln,' *smaida* 'Lacheln,' MHG. *smutzen* 'streichen, schlagen; beflecken': *smīzen* 'streichen, schlagen,' OHG. *bismīzan* 'beschmeissen, beflecken.'

68. DRŪAN

OE. pp. *gebrūen* 'verdichtet' (written also twice *geburēn* Sievers, *Gram.*², §385, Anm. 1) is probably from the base, *trū-*, *treu-* 'press, compress; rub' in ChSl. *tryti* 'reiben,' Gk. *τρύω* 'distress, afflict, vex,' OE. *brēan* 'oppress, afflict; punish; threaten;' Lat. *trūdo* 'press, crowd,' OE. *brēatian* 'urge on, press; afflict; threaten,' etc. For meaning compare no. 52 above, Vol. V, p. 288.

69. DELPA

Sw. dial. *dalpa* (*dalp*, *dulpi*), *dölpa* (*dalp*, *dulpēt*) 'omstjelpa, hvalfva, vända up och ned,' 'overturn, turn over' (Rietz, *Svenskt Dialekt-lexikon* 112), related to the weak verbs Sw. dial. *dulpa*, *dylpa* 'dive,' *dölpa* 'dive under water,' and to *dulpa* 'holes, ruts in the road,' *dalpig* 'full of ruts,' Norw. dial. *dolp*, *dølp* 'hollow in the ground,' *dulp* 'a little wet hollow,' *dulpa* 'dive; pulsate,' *dylpa* 'hop; duck (the head) up and down (esp. of fowls),' base *dhelb-*, with which compare Lith. *nu-delbiù*, *-dilpstù* 'schlage die Augen nieder, glupe,' *dilba* 'Gluper.' This is probably from *dhel-*, *dhol-* in Gk. *θόλος* 'dome, vault,' ChSl. *dolj* 'Loch, Grube,' Goth. *dal* 'Tal, Vertiefung, Grube,' ON. *dala* 'dent; be hollowed out,' Sw. *dala*, 'sinken,' etc., whence also *dhelbh-* 'hollow out, dig' in OE. *delfan* 'dig, burrow,' Russ. *dolbiti* 'aushöhlen, meiseln,' etc., with which Brugmann, *Grundriss I*², 472 compares Lith. *nu-dilpstù*.

70. DRELLA

Sw. dial. *drälla*, (*drall*, *drullit* Rietz, *Svenskt Dialekt-lexikon* 101) 'fall down, collapse; go to pieces; loiter, be slow' is perhaps an originally strong verb of which the causative is Sw. dial. *dralla* (*drallde*, but also *drall*) 'let fall carelessly, spill, waste,' related to *drallta*, *drallta* 'spill,' Norw. dial. *dralla* (*drala?*) 'shuffle along, loiter,' *dralta* 'saunter, be slow,' NIcel. *drolla* 'loiter, dally.' If *-ll-* is from *-zl-*, we may compare ON. *drasenn* 'träge, faul,' *dras-* 'Gewäsch,' OE. *drōs* 'dregs, dirt,' OHG. *truosana* 'Hefe, Drusen, Bodensatz,' *trestir* 'Treber,' OE. *dærst* 'leaven,' pl. 'dregs.' These come from a base *dhres-* 'drop, droop,' with which compare *dhreus-* in OE. *drēosan* 'fall,' *drūsian* 'become languid, sluggish,' etc. For synonymous bases *dhrex-*, *dhreux-*, see *IE. a^x: a^xi: a^xu* 76 f.

71. DRINGAN

Sw. dial. adj. (pp. ?) *drungen* 'fuktig, våt (om sank och sur jord),' 'moist, wet' may be compared with Norw. dial. *dragen* 'fugtig,' 'moist, damp,' and with NIcel. *drungi* 'drowsiness, gloominess.' Outside of Germ. we may compare Lith. *drēgnas* 'feucht,' *drēkinū* 'mache feucht,' *drignis* 'blöde' (vom Auge), and *drangūs*, *druñgnas* 'lauwarm.' For meaning compare OHG. *welk* 'feucht, milde, lau, welk.' To the same group may also belong Goth. *drigkan* 'drink,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* XVIII, 15 f.).

72. GERDAN

Goth. *bigairdan* 'umgürten,' *ufgairdan* 'aufschürzen':—Goth. *gairda*, OHG. *gurtile* 'Gürtel,' *gurten* 'gürten,' etc. These are well compared with Goth. *gards* 'Haus,' ON. *garðr* 'Zaun, eingehegter Hof,' etc., Lith. *žařdis* 'Hürde,' Pruss. *sardis* 'Zaun,' and with Gk. *κορθέλαι· συστροφαί· σωροί, κορθέλας καὶ κόρθιντοὺς σωρούς. καὶ τὴν συστροφήν* (Fick, *BB.* XVII, 321 f.). To these I add Av. *zrādō* 'Kettenpanzer,' NPers. *zirih* 'Panzer,' which, with this explanation, are to be separated from Skt. *hrādatē* 'tönt.' The base *gheredh-* of the above is from *ghere-* 'zusammen-, um-, einfassen' (cf. Walde, *Lat. Et. Wb.* 130 f.).

73. GLEKKA

Norw. dial. *glekka* (pret. *glakk*) 'be startled' is used like *klekka*, *kløkka* 'fare sammen, bli bevæget,' to which it is probably a rime-word. It may be referred to a Germ. base *glink-* 'make a sudden movement, recoil; swing, dangle' in Norw. dial. *glekk* 'frastödende, uhyggeligt udseende,' 'repulsive,' MHG. *glanken*, *glunkern* 'baumeln,' *glunke* 'baumelnde Locke.' Compare *glimp-*, *glepp-* in Norw. *gleppa* 'glide ud, komme af lave, rokkes af stedet; glippe,' 'slip, totter, etc.'

74. KRILLA, KRELLA

Sw. dial. *krilla*, *krälla* (*krall*, *krullit*, *krullid*) 'creep, crawl':—Dan. *krille* 'kribbeln, jucken, krabbeln, kitzeln,' Sw. dial. *kralla* 'creep on hands and feet, crawl; tickle, etc.,' MHG. *krellen* 'kratzen,' *kral* 'gekrallte Wunde, Kratz,' NHG. *Kralle*. These

may have *-ll-* from *-zl-*. Compare OHG. *kresan* 'kriechen,' base *gres-* 'draw together, crook, crawl.' This may be identical with the base *grēs-* in Gk. *γράω* 'gnaw, eat,' Skt. *grásati* 'verschlingt, frisst, verzehrt,' *grāsa-s* 'Mundvoll, Bissen, Futter,' ON. *krás* 'Leckerbissen.' For meaning compare MHG. *krimmen* 'mit gekrümmten Klauen oder Fingern packen, verwunden, kratzen, reissen; refl. sich winden, krümmen, kriechen' (cf. *IE. a^x: a^xi: a^xu* 103 f.).

75. SKVELLA

Norw. dial. *skvella* (pret. *skvall*, etc.) 'swell' looks like a blend of Germ. *kwellan* 'gush out; swell' and *swellan* 'swell.' But it is quite possible that 'swell' developed from 'gush out, overflow, abundare' as in *kwellan*. Compare Dan. *skvale* 'plätschern, sprudeln, hervorquellen,' Sw. *skvala* 'fliessen, strömen,' Norw. dial. *skvala* 'splash, gush out,' etc. Compare the following.

76. SKVELPA

Norw. dial. *skvelpa* (*skvalp*, etc.) 'splash,' Sw. dial. *skvilpa* (*skvalp*) 'splash':—OSw. *skwalpa* 'plätschern,' Sw. *skvalpa* 'plätschern, schwappen,' Dan. *skvalpe* 'schütteln; wanken, schwanken,' *skulpe* 'schütteln,' MLG. *schulpen* 'eine Flüssigkeit stark hin und her bewegen, dass sie überzufliessen droht,' etc., base *sq^ua^xlb-* in Lith. *skalbiù* 'wasche schlagend, blaue,' from *sq^ua^xl-* in Lith. *skalauti* 'vom Wasser fortgesetzt heftig anschlagend waschen, spülen; durch fortges. Schütteln ausspülen,' Dan. *skval* 'Plätschern, Wellenschlag,' *skvale* 'plätschern, sprudeln, hervorquellen,' ON. *skola* 'abwaschen,' MLG. *scholen* 'strömen, Wellen schlagen; spülen, eine Flüssigkeit hin und her bewegen, im Wasser hin und her schwenken,' etc. (cf. Zupitza, *Gutturale* 47; Falk og Torp, *Ordbog II*, 211, 213).

Since the primary meaning of these words seems to be 'shake, move to and fro,' we may compare Skt. *skhālati* 'wankt, taumelt, stolpert, geht fehl,' Arm. *sxalem* 'wanke, strauchele, gehe fehl,' Gk. *σφάλλω* 'throw down, overthrow; make to totter.' These are better separated from Lat. *scelus* etc., on which see Walde, *Lat. Et. Wb.* 205, 551.

77. SLEKWAN

Germ. *slekwan 'be extinguished,' with *-uo-* suffix in pres., has pp. ON. *slokenn*, Norw. dial. *slokjen*, OSw. *slukin*, Sw. dial. *sloken* 'erloschen,' of the fourth series. As the *w* caused gemination, we find the *-kk-* generalized, thus throwing the verb into the third class, in Norw. dial. *sløkka* 'be extinguished, cease to burn,' pret. *sløkk*, sup. *sløkket*, pp. *sløkken*, Sw. dial. pret. *sløkk*, pp. *sløkken*. The causative also has *-kk-*: ON. *sløkkua* 'löschen,' OSw. *sløkkia*, *slækia*, whence Sw. Dial. *slakka* 'slake, extinguish,' pret. *slakk*, sup. *slukki*, and weak.

To the same base belong ON. *slakr* 'schlaff,' OE. *slæc* 'slack, slothful, languid,' OS. *slac*, OHG. *slah*, etc., with which have been compared Gk. *λύγω* 'appease, stay; cease, end,' *λαγγάζω* 'loiter, slacken, give up,' Lat. *langueo*, etc. (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.* 323 f. with lit.). To these add ON. *sløkr* 'Herumschlenderer,' *sløkinn* 'träge, indolent,' Norw. dial. *sløken* 'slap og slunken,' *sløk* 'tung slap og slukket person,' 'untidy person,' Sw. *slöka* 'schlaff hangen,' Lith. *slogus* 'beschwerlich,' *sloga* 'Plage,' *slégiu* 'bedrücke, presse,' Lett. *slédu* 'schliesse,' and also OE. *slincan* 'creep, slink,' etc., MDu. *slanc* 'mager, afgevallen, slap,' Dan. *slunken* 'schlaff,' etc. (cf. *AJP.* XXIV, 42).

78. STELPAN

OSw. *stiælpa* 'umfallen' (also wk. in MSw.), Sw. dial. *stjelpa*, *stalpa*, pret. *stalp*, etc. (but lit. Sw. *stjälpa* 'umfallen, umstürzen' wk.), NWFries. *stjalpe*—OSw. *stiælpa* (**stalpjan*) 'umwalzen,' Sw. *stjalpa* 'umwerfen, umkippen,' ON. *stelpa*, MLG. *stulpen* 'umstürzen,' MDu. (Kilian) *stelpen*, *stulpen* 'sistere, stipare, obturare, obstruere, oculere, restringere, inhibere,' Norw. dial. *stelpa* 'hemmen, hindern,' *stolpa* 'gaa med stive skridt, stolpre,' 'walk with stiff legs, stumble,' *stolpeleg* 'stiff and clumsy,' *stolputt* 'stiff and stumbling,' Dan. *stolpre*, NHG. *stolpern* (a LG. word), ON., Sw., Dan. *stolpe*, MLG. *stolpe* 'Pfosten, Pfahl,' Lett. *stulbs*, ChSl. *stluba* 'Treppe,' etc., base *sthelb-* 'come to a stand, stop, stumble; bring to a stand, stop, check, cause to stumble, etc.; cause to stand, set up, etc.' from *sthel-*: Skt. *sthālati* 'steht,' etc. (cf. ten Doornkaat Koolman, *Ostfries. Wb.* III, 352; Falk og

Torp, *Ordbog II*, 302). With *sthelb-* of the above compare *sthlemb-* in Lat. *stlembus* 'slow and clumsy in gait.'

79. TESSA

Norw. dial. *tessa* impers. (pret. *tass*, *toss*, sup. *tossi*, *tessi* Ross, *Ordbog* 813) 'rasle eller klukke, om luften i et legeme som presses sammen ved slag, stød eller fald,' 'gurgle': Norw. dial. *tasa*, *taasa* 'rattle, rustle,' *tiska* 'rustle,' *tisla* 'hiss, whisper,' Sw. *tissla* 'flüstern,' Sw. dial. *tessa*, *tissa*, 'lächeln,' MHG. *zesse* 'brausende Woge, Unwetter,' OHG. *zessa*, *zessōd*, 'Brausen der Wogen,' *zessōn* 'brausen, sich brausend bewegen (v. Wasser).'

A synonymous Germ. *tīs-* occurs in ON., NIcel. *tīst* 'squeak; twitter,' *tīsta* 'squeak; twitter, chirp,' to which may belong Norw. *tiska*, *tisla*, etc., and NHG. *zischen*, *zischeln*, MHG. *zispezen* 'Zischen,' NHG. *zirpen*. Compare also *tus-* in Norw. dial. *tusa* 'frembringe sagte lyd; tale sagte, hviske,' 'crackle; whisper,' *tuska* 'rattle,' *tusla*, 'whisper,' NE. *tush*, an exclamation of surprise or contempt, MLG. *tus* interj. um Stille zu gebieten, *tussent* 'sibilus,' NHG. *tusch*, *tuschen*, *tuscheln*.

Some of the above words are no doubt onomatopoetic, formed as rime-words to others. But the original stock from which the first group came may go back to the IE. root *dē-*, *dēi* in Gk. *δονέω* 'shake, stir,' *ἀλι-δονός* 'sea-tossed,' *δινέω* 'whirl, turn, spin round,' *δίνη*, *δίνος* 'vortex, whirlpool, eddy,' *διεμαι* 'hasten,' Skt. *dīyati* 'schwebt, fliegt,' Lett. *de'iju* 'tanze,' etc. For other related words see IE. *a²*: *a²i*: *a²u* 65 f.

80. TWINGAN

That a Germ. base *twing-*, *twang-* occurred by the side of *þwing* is made probable by the following: OE. *twengan* 'pinch, squeeze,' ME. *twengen* 'press tightly' give NE. *twinge*, with palatalized *g*, which would hardly result if the word were of Norse origin as late as the change from *þ* to *t*. Moreover, OE *twengan* corresponds to OHG. *zwangan*, *zwengen* 'vellere, praestringere, remordere, kneifen, kneipen,' related to *zwangōn*, *-kōn* 'anreizen, irritare' (cf. Schade, *Wb.*² 1307).

As a strong verb the word is found in ME. *twingen* 'press, oppress,' 3d sing. *twinges* 'afflict,' Ps. 41, 10, pp. *twungen* Ps.

37, 9. From a Germ. **twingan* may also come Waldeck. *twinen* 'zwingen,' Westf. *twingen* (: *twang* 'Zwang; Druck,' beside *dwingen* 'zwingen'). But these are ambiguous, for Germ. *pw-* also appears as *tw-* in these dialects. MHG. *zwingen* is likewise ambiguous. It probably represents both **pwingan* and **twingan*.

Germ. *twing-* may be compared with *twekk-* in OE. *twiccan* 'pluck, gather; twitch,' MHG., *zwicken*, 'zerren, zwicken, einklemmen, mit Nägeln befestigen,' *zwacken* 'zupfen, zerren,' EFries. *twikken* 'zwicken, kneifen, drücken, plagen, reissen, zupfen,' *twakken* 'zwacken,' and with OHG. *zocchōn* 'ziehen, zerren; reißen, locken; pflücken,' *zogōn* 'ziehen, zerren, reissen,' *ziohan*, Goth. *tiuhan* 'ziehen,' etc., base *deuk-*, *deuk-*, *dyenk-*, (cf. IE. *a²: a²i: a²u* 69).

81. VRELLA

Sw. dial. *vrälla* (pret. *vrall*, otherwise weak) 'rinna, framvalla, flyta; vrimla, kråla, trilla,' 'run out, overflow; crawl, swarm' may have *-ll-* from *-zl-*. In that case compare Skt. *vársati* 'regnet,' *varṣá-* 'Regen, Regenzeit, Jahr,' Gk. *ἔρση*, *ἔρσην* 'dew,' Ir. *frass* 'Regenschauer.' Or *vrälla* may be a blend of Germ. *wellan* 'well, flow out' and Sw. dial. *ralla* 'trilla, rulla, ramla; falla nedåt, slåpa utför,' 'roll, slip down,' etc.

82. WRESKWAN

Goth. *gawrisqan* 'Frucht bringen,' ON., NIcel. *roskinn* 'ripe in years, advanced in years:'—ON. *roskna* 'heranwachsen,' *roskuask* 'aufwachsen, reifen (von Früchten und Menschen)'. These are supposed to be from **u^{redh}-sq^{uo}-*: Skt. *várdhatē* 'wächst, erwacht,' etc. They may rather be from **u^{res}-q^{uo}-* from **u^{eres}* 'swell, grow': OE. *wearr* 'callosity, wart,' *wrase* 'knot, lump,' Lat. *verruca* 'wart, hump, mound,' Skt. *vársma* 'Höhe, Spitze, Grösse, Körper,' etc., and OS. *wrisi*, OHG. *risi*, *riso* 'Riese,' Lith. *resnas* 'stark,' Lett. *resns* 'dick, dickelebig,' Skt. *vṛṣā* 'stark, männlich : Mann, Hengst, Stier,' *vṛṣabhd-s* 'stark, tüchtig, männlich : Stier,' Lat. *verrēs* 'boar,' etc. (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wb.*, s. v. *Riese*; Brugmann, *Grundriss*² II, 264).

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THE COLLEGE ELEMENT IN HAMLET

The allusions to Shakespeare in the two Cambridge plays, the *Return from Parnassus* and the *Return from Parnassus or the Scourge of Simony*—plays which we shall designate as *P1* and *P2*—should be familiar to students of the Elizabethan drama, yet as the argument of this paper is based chiefly upon them, a brief review of these references to the dramatist is necessary.

In December, 1598, the scholars of St. John's College, Cambridge, produced the *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, a purely academic piece, with allusions to the curriculum, with quotations and adaptations from the Latin poets, and, strikingly like our modern undergraduate productions, with hits on town celebrities, among whom we find Hobson, of Miltonic fame. That the *Pilgrimage* was favorably received, obtaining more than the ordinary success, is proved by the fact that it was followed by *P1* and *P2*. *P1* was produced during the holiday season of 1600–1 and *P2* the following year, some time between Christmas, 1601, and January 5, 1602.¹ In *P1* a principal character is the fool, Gullio, who

¹ Scholars are not agreed as to the date of the production of *P2*. Arber dates it "rather in the first days of January, 1602, than in the last six of December, 1601, probably on New Year's day, 1602, as we now reckon." See the introduction to Arber's reprint of *P2* (London, 1878); also Smeaton's edition of this play, *Temple Dramatists* (London, 1905), Introduction, xii, p. 121, n. Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama* (London, 1891), Vol. II, p. 354, misreading the Dominical letters (see *infra*) dates the production 1603. Wilhelm Luhr, in his Kiel dissertation, *Die drei Cambridger Spiele vom Parnass* (1900), gives a detailed discussion of this question of chronology, and dates the production 1603. As this would invalidate our argument, it is necessary to show wherein he is mistaken.

In *P2*, Act III, Scene 1, Immerito, examined before Sir Raderic, states that the Dominical letter for the year is C. While this answer is called correct, the page completes it by adding the letter D. Now D designated the portion of the year from March 25, through December 31, 1601; C, the period from January 1, 1602, through March 24, 1602. (All the dates here given are N. S.) Thus the complete answer was that the Dominical letters for the year, March 25, 1601, to March 24, 1602, were D C. In this same scene Immerito, when asked, "When is the new moone?" replies correctly, "The last quarter, the 5 day, at 2 of the clock, and 38 minutes in the morning." Luhr, who has made careful calculation, states that this answer fits January 5, 1602. For a last point, the nine allusions in the play to Christmas and the New Year season, further establish the time of production. There can be no doubt that Luhr is correct in stating that *P2* "ursprunglich für das Weihnachtsfest 1601–1602 bestimmt war."

P2 has practically two prologues, the first in prose, followed by 88 lines in couplets. In the prose prologue Momus says, "What is presented here, is an old musty show, that hath lain this twelvemonth in the bottom of a coal-house amongst brooms and old shoes, an invention that we are ashamed of, and therefore we have promised the copies to the chandlers to wrap his candles in" (Smeaton's ed., p. 4). From this statement Luhr evolves the

desires to pose as a man of parts, and has accordingly memorized from *Venus and Adonis* and *Romeo and Juliet* several lines which he recites with great gusto, declaring that he admires them so much that he will have "sweet Mr. Shakespeare's" picture in his study.¹ Ingenioso, the wit of the play, approves the poetry, but laughs at the gull who tries to appropriate the poet's verses. At Gullio's request Ingenioso composes some stanzas in the style of Chaucer ("Chaucer's vaine" is seen chiefly in the use of such forms as *yheried* or *slepen*), parodies the opening lines of the *Fairy Queen*, and imitates *Venus and Adonis*. This alone pleases Gullio. A few lines of the play should be quoted here.

Gullio. Let mee heare Mr. Shakspear's veyne.

Ingenioso. Faire Venus, queene of beutie and of love,
Thy red doth stayne the blushinge of the morne
Thy snowie necke shameth the milkwhite dove,
Thy presence doth this naked worlde adorne:
Gazing on thee all other nymphes I scorne.
When ere thou dyest slowe shine that Satterday,
Beutie and grace muste sleepe with thee for aye!

following theory: "Der zweite Teil der *Return from Parnassus* ohne Prosaprolog wurde vielleicht im Dezember 1601 für eine Aufführung am 1 Januar 1602 geschrieben. Umstände unbekannter Art verhinderten die Aufführung. Nach einem Jahr holte man das Lustspiel wieder hervor und fügte als Erklärung für Anspielungen auf Alters-Ereignisse und zugleich als Entschuldigung für das Unterlassen einer Neubearbeitung den Prosaprolog hinzu. In dieser Form wurde die *Scourge of Simony* im Januar 1603 . . . aufgeführt" (pp. 19, 20).

There are two good arguments against this assumption: (1) To interpret this jesting prologue, with its depreciation of the play, as anything but a humorous statement is to lose the whole spirit of the piece. (2) The author of the *Parnassus* plays shows unmistakably by his allusions to contemporary events a desire to bring his dramas "up to date." If, as Luhr contends, *P2* was produced 1602-3, why did not the writer change the Dominical letters to correspond with that year, and thus give some point to Immerito's examination? Luhr answers this by asserting that instead of making the trifling changes in the text, the writer added a prose prologue to explain why his dates were not correct. Surely this is wide of the mark, for a man with wit enough to write *P2* would have sense enough to revise it.

Luhr, following Ward (*A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne* [London, 1899], Vol. II, p. 633, n.), has yet another argument. In the Halliwell-Phillips MS of *P2*, Momus says, in the prose prologue, "Is it not a pretty humour to stand hammering upon two schollers some fourre yeare." These "two schollers" made their first appearance in the *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, produced during the Christmas season 1598-99. Adding four years to this date, the production of *P2* would seem to fall in 1602-3. But there is another way of interpreting the phrase "some fourre yearre." The *Pilgrimage to Parnassus* was acted, as we have said, 1598-99, and it is not impossible that it was repeated in the holidays of 1599-1600. In any case, *P1* was acted during the holidays of 1600-1, and if, as internal evidence shows, *P2* was acted during the Christmas season, 1601-2, it would be the fourth holiday performance since the appearance of the two scholars. We therefore date the production of *P2* some time between December 23, 1601, and January 5, 1602. Cf. F. E. Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama* (Boston, 1908), Vol. II, p. 489.

¹Act III, scene 1. See *Parnassus, Three Elizabethan Comedies*, edited by W. D. Macray (Clarendon Press, 1886).

Gullio. Noe more! I am one that can judge accoordinge to the proverbe, *bovem ex unguibus*. Ey marry, sir, these have some life in them! Let this duncified worlde esteeme of Spence and Chaucer, I'le worshipp sweet Mr. Shakspeare, and to honour him will lay his *Venus and Adonis* under my pillowe, as wee reade of one (I doe not well remember his name, but I am sure he was a kinge) slept with Homer under his bed's heade.¹

In *P2*, *Ingenioso* and *Judicio* "censure" the list of poets from whose writing John Bodenham drew the selections for his *Belvedere or the Garden of the Muses*, 1600, and come to the names of Ben Jonson and Shakespeare:

Ingenioso. Ben Jonson

Judicio. The wittiest fellow of a bricklayer in England.

Ingenioso. A mere empiric, one who gets what he hath by observation, and makes only nature privy to what he endites; so slow an inventor, that he were better betake himself to his old trade of bricklaying, a bold whoreson, as confident now in making of a book, as he was in times past in laying of a brick.

William Shakespeare

Judicio. Who loves Adonis love, or Lucrece' rape,
His sweeter verse contains heart-robbing life,
Could but a graver subject him content,
Without love's foolish lazy languishment.²

While the contrast to Jonson is such a marked one that the allusion to Shakespeare is unmistakable praise, it is rather disappointing to find *Venus and Adonis* alone mentioned; however, in Act IV, scene 3, when Burbage and Kemp are brought on the stage, the plays are lauded. The passage is as follows:

Burbage. Now, Will Kemp, if we can entertain these scholars at a low rate, it will be well, they have oftentimes a good conceit in a part.

Kemp. It's true indeed, honest Dick, but the slaves are somewhat proud, and besides, it is a good sport in a part to see them never speak in their walk, but at the end of the stage, just as though in walking with a fellow we should never speak but at a stile, a gate, or a ditch, where a man can go no further. I was once at a comedy in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts of this fashion.

Burbage. A little teaching will mend these faults, and it may be besides they will be able to pen a part.

Kemp. Few of the University pen plays well, they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of

¹ Act IV, scene 1.

² See Smeaton's ed., Act I, scene 2.

Proserpina and Juppiter. Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down—ay, and Ben Jonson too. O that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow; he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit.

Burbage. It's a shrewd fellow indeed.

A few lines farther on, Burbage tells Philomusus, a student candidate for the stage, to act a little of *Richard III*, and immediately, as though reciting a *locus classicus*, Philomusus begins:

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by the sun of York.

The natural interpretation of these allusions to Shakespeare is that his poems and plays were in everyone's mouth, and that at Cambridge, at least, he was not only ranked far above Ben Jonson, but prized beyond every one of the contemporary dramatists. On the other hand, Mr. Macray, who discovered the MSS of the *Pilgrimage to Parnassus* and *P1*, and first printed these plays, believes that these references show indeed Shakespeare's popularity, "but it is popularity only with a certain class." "The notices in the third play (i. e., *P2*) seem (as Mr. Mullinger has remarked, in *University of Cambridge*, p. 524, note) "to convey the notion that Shakespeare is the favorite of the rude half-educated strolling players, as distinguished from the refined geniuses of the University. . . . Certainly the popularity assigned to him is not of a sort to be desired, but the popularity itself is indisputable."¹ Such a conclusion is surely wide of the mark. In the fifth chapter of the tenth book of *Amelia*, Fielding introduces Colonel Bath praising Shakespeare.

That Shakespeare [cries the Colonel] was a fine fellow. He was a very pretty poet indeed. Was it not Shakespeare that wrote the play about Hotspur? You must remember these lines. I got them almost by heart at the play house; for I never missed the play whenever it was acted, if I was in town:

By Heav'n it was an easy leap,
To pluck bright honour into the full moon,
Or drive into the bottomless deep.

¹ Macray's *Parnassus*, Preface, x. Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis* (Berlin, 1892), p. 88, finds in *P2*, Act V, scene 1, ll. 2-18, "eine deutliche Spitz gegen Shakespeare," but the reference is a general one directed against actors as a class. Cf. Sidney Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, chap. xii; also *Athenaeum*, London, November 13, 1886.

And—and—faith, I have almost forgot them; but I know it is something about saving your honour from drowning—O! it is very fine! I say, damn me, the man that writ these lines was the greatest poet the world ever produced. There is dignity of expression and emphasis of thinking, damn me.

It is well known that Fielding yielded to no man in his admiration of Shakespeare, and in this passage he ridicules not the very pretty poet, but the honor-loving Colonel himself. So in these college plays, the folly of Gullio is rendered but more apparent by his attempt to appreciate what is so far above his weak brain; or, to look at the matter from another point of view, even a brainless fop grasps the fact that Shakespeare is the pre-eminent writer of the day, and that he must profess the keenest admiration for the works of the dramatist if he desires to appear to be a man of intellect. Furthermore, in *P2* Burbage and Kemp are not represented as "rude, half-educated strolling players," and their praise of Shakespeare is to be taken as seriously as their strictures on the awkward stage presence of undergraduate actors. Clearly then, the Cambridge plays commend Shakespeare in a manner which seems half-hearted when compared with our modern estimates of his genius, yet in a manner quite extraordinary when we remember how rarely on the Elizabethan stage is a tribute paid to the work of a contemporary dramatist.¹

That the high estimate placed on his writings by the scholars of St. John's was unknown to Shakespeare is incredible, and it is interesting to note, in this connection, that Shakespeare's friend and patron, Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton, had been a student at St. John's (1585-89) and that he maintained throughout his life a deep interest in the college, sending his son there to be educated, and bestowing on the library a valuable collection of books and manuscripts. At the time of the production of *P2* he was in prison, implicated in the attempted insurrection of the Earl of Essex, yet Shakespeare must have heard of the dramatic activity at the *alma mater* of his great benefactor.² That

¹ Cf. Shakespeare's brief reference to Marlowe:

Dead shepherd, now I feel thy saw of might,
"Who ever loved that loved not at first sight."

—*A.Y.L.I.*, III, v, 82.

² See Lee's *Shakespeare*, Appendices III, IV.

a dramatist who spoke of himself regretfully as an "unlettered clerk" would be unmoved by the acclaim of the university wits is beyond question. Some four years after Ben Jonson had been so roughly handled in *P2*, he produced successfully at Oxford and Cambridge his *Volpone*, and so delighted was he with the favor the colleges had shown this comedy that he dedicated it "to the most noble and equal sisters, the two famous Universities, for their love and acceptance shown to this poem in the presentation." Speaking of himself as "the grateful acknowledger" and declaring that he is "studious to justify" their bounty, throughout all the dedication—the longest he ever wrote—he shows unmistakably his pride in the applause of his academic audiences and his eager desire to retain their approval. It cannot be presumed that Shakespeare was less sensitive to the approbation of the scholarly world. Whatever opinion we hold of the autobiographic value of the sonnets, one fact is evident—that Shakespeare was touched to the heart by friendship and by appreciation of his work, and that he repaid the recognition of his own worth and of the value of his writings with a splendid gratitude as sincere in its feeling as it is exquisite in its expression. Would it not be remarkable if Shakespeare counted as little worth the praise of Cambridge, and more unnatural still if he made no grateful reference to it?

P2 was produced, as we have stated, between Christmas day, 1601, and January 5, 1602. On July 26, 1602, there was entered on the *Stationers' Register* "A booke called the *Revenge of Hamlett Prince (of) Denmark* as yt was lateli Acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servants," and in 1603 appeared *The Tragical Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* by William Shakespeare. "As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse servants in the cittie of London: as also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford and elsewhere." This, *Q1*, is undoubtedly the book mentioned the previous year in the *Register*, for in 1603 the Lord Chamberlain's Servants became the King's Players, and thus the change in the name of the troupe can be explained. The important fact, however, in considering the title of *Q1* is that this play, Shakespeare's first revision of the *Ur-Hamlet* (which we shall designate as *Z*) was acted at the Universities, and that it was a

success there is understood by such an announcement.¹ I have been unable to obtain information concerning all the known Shakespeare quartos, but an examination of photographic reproductions of thirty, including all the first quartos, shows that *Hamlet* is the only play advertised as having been performed at Cambridge.² This is significant. It now remains to fix as nearly as possible the date of its performance at Cambridge. It is a fair assumption that it did not precede the production of *P 2*, for a play so popular as *Hamlet* proved to be would have naturally impressed Shakespeare's admirers to such an extent that they would have made some reference to it, however slight, giving it at least as much mention as *Hieronimo* or *Richard III* received at their hands. Moreover, the play must have been acted very shortly before July 26, 1602. Clark and Wright have stated this point most clearly:

We are inclined to think that it was acted not long before . . . 26 July, 1602. One reason for this opinion is, that if the play had been long a popular one and had been frequently represented, the printer or publisher would have had many opportunities of procuring a more accurate copy than that from which the edition of 1603 was made. The errors of this edition, and the manifest haste with which it was printed seem to show that the play had only been acted a short time before, and that the publisher went to press with the first copy he could obtain, however imperfect. This supposition is favoured by the expression in the *Stationer's Register* "as it was lately acted," which would hardly have been used of a play which had long been popular.³

In other words, a few months after *P 2* is performed at Cambridge, *Hamlet* is acted there. It is but natural, we repeat, to seek in *Q 1* some acknowledgment on Shakespeare's part of the praise Cambridge had bestowed on him, or, at the very least, some friendly tribute to the student body; and this, indeed, is not wanting. It is to be found, first, in the college atmosphere which Shakespeare adds to the *Hamlet* story, and, secondly, in the type of college student which Shakespeare depicts. These two points deserve to be treated at some length.

¹ The word "revision" implies the addition of so much new material that Shakespeare may properly be called the creator of *Hamlet*.

² "Hamlet was the only drama by Shakespeare that was acted in his lifetime at the two Universities," Lee, *Shakespeare*, chap. xiii.

³ *Hamlet*, Clarendon Press, 1880, Preface, ix.

In the chronicle of *Saxo Grammaticus* there is naturally no mention of the University of Wittenberg, and Belleforest, who followed *Saxo* closely, has no reference to Hamlet's student days. As for Horatio, he is dimly discerned in a short reference to a nameless friend of Hamlet who warns and aids him.¹ It is in *Q1* and in the German *Hamlet, Der Bestrafte Brudermord oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dannemark* (which we shall designate as *D*), that we find the first reference to Wittenberg; moreover, in *Q1* Horatio is a student there, while in *D* he is a soldier at the court. This brings us face to face with the great problem in the study of the text of *Hamlet*. It is generally agreed that *Z*, which Shakespeare partially revised in *Q1* and which he further revised and enlarged in *Q2* (1604) was written by Kyd. Does *D* represent, in distorted form, this play by Kyd or is it a very faulty adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*? On this point scholars have been and are still divided.² Although the arguments against the theory that *D* derives from *Z* have been stated at greater length than the arguments for it, I believe that *D*, both because of its specific resemblances to Kyd's works and because of its general likeness, in language, character, and plot, to the pre-Shakespearean drama, certainly represents *Z*, though in a sadly mangled form, and this theory, moreover, adapts itself perfectly to the contention of this

¹ See Robert Gericke, *Hamlet-Quellen* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 1-111.

² For the theory that *D* is derived from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* see the articles by W. Creizenach in *Berichte der philol.-hist. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, p. 1 (Leipzig, 1887); *Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, deutsche Nationalliteratur* (Berlin u. Stuttgart), Vol. XXIII, 1888; "Der bestrafte Brudermord" and Its Relation to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, p. 249 (Chicago, 1904); Gustav Tanger, "Der bestrafte Brudermord" u. sein Verhältniss zu Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224, 1888; cf. also E. Horz, "Englische Schauspieler u. englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland," in Litzmann's *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, Vol. XVIII, p. 87 (Hamburg u. Leipzig, 1903); Edward Dowden, *Hamlet*, Introduction, p. xiv (London, 1899); F. S. Boas, *Thomas Kyd*, Introduction, p. xviii (London, 1901); A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 406, note (London, 1904). For the theory that *D* is derived from *Z* see R. G. Latham, *Two Dissertations on the Hamlet of Saxo Grammaticus and of Shakespeare* (London, 1872); W. H. Widgery, *Harness Prize Essay* (London, 1880); H. H. Furness, *Hamlet*, Vol. II, p. 120 (Philadelphia, 1877); John Corbin, "The German *Hamlet* and the Earlier English Versions," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. V (Boston, 1896); A. H. Thorndike, "Hamlet and Contemporary Revenge Plays" in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (Baltimore, 1902); J. Schick, "Die Entstehung des *Hamlet*" in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXVIII, 1902; M. B. Evans, "Der Bestrafte Brudermord;" sein Verhältniss zu Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (Hamburg u. Leipzig, 1902); "Der Bestrafte Brudermord" and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, 1905; C. M. Lewis, *T' Genesis of Hamlet* (New York, 1907).

paper. To treat this matter in detail would be to lose the thread of our argument without reason, for the authorities cited in the note offer a most thorough discussion of the whole question.

As has been stated, in *Q1* Horatio is a student; in *D* he is a soldier.¹ In spite of the fact that *D* has received at the hands of its adaptors and revisers "many alterations and dilutions," and that the text cannot be traced earlier than 1710,² that natural desire to give the play a German setting, seen so plainly in this late text, may be attributed also to the earliest adaptor, to the earliest text. That Hamlet, in *D*, had been a student at Wittenberg can scarcely be explained by this tendency, for that university was well known in England and might well be mentioned by a London dramatist. The Faustus of Marlowe's play was a student at "Wertenberg" and Lylly in his *Euphues*, published 1579, takes "Wittenberge" to represent the German universities, as Paris represents the scholarship of France.³ On the other hand, when we find in *D* mention of Hamburg and Saxony; when we find the story, well known to Elizabethan dramatists,⁴ of a murder confessed at a play transferred from England to Strassburg; when we find a legend of "a cavalier in Anion" which appears also in contemporary plays,⁵ we have a right to assume that these German allusions had been added and that the actors concluded that the play needed more local coloring. This being the case, why is not Horatio a student at Wittenberg in *D* as he is in *Q1*? If the German adaptor could have one more allusion to a German town, would he wilfully forego it? Horatio is an important character and if the adaptor of *D* had seen or read *Q1* and but dimly remembered it, is it probable that he would forget that such a prominent person as the confidant of the Prince was a student? We are led to the conclusion that Horatio is a soldier in *D* because he was a soldier in *Z*, on which *D* is based.

¹ See *Fratricide Punished* (*D*), Act I, scene 3. It can be consulted most conveniently in Furness' *Variorum Hamlet*, Vol. II.

² See Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1865). Cohn derives *D* from *Z*. Cf. Widgery, *Harness Prize Essay*, pp. 104-25.

³ See Arber's edition of *Euphues*, p. 140 (London, 1868).

⁴ See the play, *A Warning for Faire Women* (London, 1599), reprinted in R. Simpson's *School of Shakespeare* (London, 1878), also Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, Book III (London, 1612).

⁵ See *D*, Act II, scenes 4, 7; cf. Boas, *Kyd*, xlviii; Furness, *Hamlet*, Vol. II, p. 118.

This explains the inconsistency in the character of Horatio. In *Q 1*, as in *Q 2*, he has hardly appeared in the opening scene of the first act, when we are told that he is a scholar. "Thou art a scholler, speake to it Horatio." As the ghost disappears, Marcellus asks Horatio whether it is not like the king, to which he replies:

As thou art to thy selfe
Such was the very armor he had on,
When he the ambitious Norway combated.
So frownd he once, when in an angry parle
He smot the sleaded pollax on the yee,
Tis strange.¹

Here Horatio talks as a veteran who had witnessed the king's duel with Fortinbras, and who had followed him in at least one of his campaigns. Dowden avoids this difficulty by explaining that Horatio did not necessarily witness the duel, and that "the armour would be remembered and be pointed out, when worn later."² While this is a possible interpretation, it is certainly not the natural one. Horatio speaks as an old soldier, and when his comrades in arms wish an explanation of the ghost's appearance, it is Horatio who gives the account of the fight with Fortinbras and explains the threatened invasion. We hardly expect a student at Wittenberg to be better informed on the military history of Denmark than the members of the Danish army. Of course it is not impossible that Horatio turned from the camp to the study, that he left the army for the university, but it does not seem probable. If we conclude that Shakespeare, in changing Horatio from a soldier to a student, did not remove all the inconsistencies such a change involved, we have an explanation that accords with Shakespeare's manner of work in other plays. Moreover, it is not difficult to see why Shakespeare retained the lines that show Horatio to be a soldier. It was essential to the story that Horatio should recognize the ghost, and therefore the dramatist retained the soldier's recollections of his old commander, which makes the identification indisputable. This point established, Horatio becomes the scholar who has seen the king but once, and to whom the

¹ *Q 1*; *Q 2* follows this word for word with slight changes of spelling.

² Dowden, *Hamlet*, p. 7, note.

court is unfamiliar ground. The action in the opening pages is so rapid, the lines in the first scenes are spoken so hurriedly that the spectator, absorbed in the unfolding of an exciting plot, does not perceive the inconsistency, and is accordingly no more disturbed by it than by the perplexing "double time" in *Othello*.

This theory that Horatio in *Z*, as in *D*, was a soldier, helps to explain the vexed question of Horatio's age. Certainly the impression given by the play is that Hamlet and Horatio are equal in years. In *Q1* Hamlet's age is not given, though it is a common statement that he is nineteen.¹ In *Q2* he is plainly thirty, therefore Horatio, who must have been fairly old when he witnessed the duel between Hamlet's father and Fortinbras, is at least fifty, for that contest took place on the day Hamlet was born. Is not this an inconsistency arising from the composite character of Horatio, part scholar, part soldier?

There is yet another aspect of the case to be considered. If, as we maintain, Horatio was changed from a soldier to a student as a tribute to the universities, it certainly follows that *Q1*, the version acted at Cambridge, should have the character of Horatio clearly and fully drawn. Such, indeed, is the case. Comparing the Horatio of *Q1* with the Horatio of *Q2*, the enlarged version, we shall find but very little change. It is true that some interesting lines are added in *Q2*, and it is important to note these passages. They are as follows: Horatio's description of the portents in Rome, "a little ere the mightiest Julius fell" (Act I, scene 2), is missing in *Q1*; Horatio does not appear in *Q1* as the protector of the distraught Ophelia; in *Q1* Horatio receives letters from Hamlet telling of his escape from "Gilderstone and Rossencraft," and he discloses this to the queen, while in *Q2* Hamlet himself, after his return to Elsinore, tells Horatio of his escape; *Q1* omits some of Horatio's short comments in the graveyard scene and in the conversation with Osric, and gives the two last speeches of Horatio, at the very close of the play, in shortened form. What we most miss in *Q1* is Horatio's quiet attempt to recall the Prince from those thoughts that wander through eternity to the path of safety

¹ Bradley affirms that all that can be gathered from the text is that Hamlet was "more than twelve," *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 408. Cf. Sir Edward Sullivan, "On Hamlet's Age," *Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society*, XXVII.

and duty: "Twere to consider too curiously to consider so." In leaving this comparison of the two quartos, it must be mentioned that Hamlet's noble speech to his friend, in which, breaking down the reserve that even the closest companions feel, he discloses his admiration for one who is not passion's slave, appears in *Q1* in a short fifteen-line version which compares most unfavorably with the perfected version in *Q2*. With all these differences noted, the surprising consideration is not that they exist, but that they are not greater, especially when we observe the great changes made in *Q2* in the parts of Claudius, Gertrude, and Laertes, to say nothing of Hamlet himself.¹ On the other hand, in several scenes in which Horatio appears (for example, in Act I) *Q1* and *Q2* are practically the same text. It is therefore a safe assertion that Horatio, as he was presented to the students of Cambridge, was an important character, drawn at length, and that in this character Shakespeare adds the college element to the drama.

There is one minor point on which we may touch before leaving this part of the discussion. In *Q1* appears the allusion to Corambis (Polonius) as an actor at the university.

Hamlet. My lord, you playd in the Universitie.

Corambis. That I did my L: and I was counted a good actor.

Hamlet. What did you enact there?

Corambis. My lord, I did act Julius Caesar, I was killed in the Capitoll, Brutus killed me.

Hamlet. It was a brute part of him, to kill so capitall a calfe.

Mr. Fleay concludes from these lines that the actor who took the part of Polonius had been cast for Caesar in Shakespeare's tragedy.² Is not this, however, merely an allusion to undergraduate plays, inserted to please a student audience?

The second point of our contention is that in Horatio Shakespeare departs from the type of student depicted in the Elizabethan drama. As a matter of fact, the university scholar is a rare figure. The soldier, the gull, the fop, the amorist, the bravo, the lord, the peasant, men of all classes and types cross and recross the stage,

¹ For a very careful comparison of the texts of *Q1* and *Q2*, see Tanger's article in *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, IX, Part II. I am utterly unable to accept the conclusions drawn from this comparison.

² *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 229 (London, 1886).

but in this throng of characters there are but few students.¹ Of all the dramatists, we should expect Ben Jonson, both because of his scholarly tastes and his wide vision, to present a student character in one of his plays, but we search for him in vain. In the opening lines of *Every Man in His Humour*, Knowell, speaking of his son, says:

He is a scholar, if a man may trust
The liberal voice of fame in her report,
Of good account in both our Universities
Either of which hath favoured him with graces,

but we soon find that young Knowell has left the university behind him and he appears not as a student, but as a young man about town. In the list of characters prefixed to *Every Man out of His Humour*, we find Fungoso, "a student; one that has reveled in his time, and follows the fashions afar off, like a spy." On examining the play, we find that while Fungoso is supposed to be studying at the Inns of Court, he represents, not the student, but the fop, who vainly strives to be in the fashion.

Unlucky as Fungoso in the play,
These sparks with awkward vanity display
What the fine gentlemen wore yesterday.²

Lovell, in his *New Inn*, is described as a "scholar," and Compass, in the *Magnetic Lady*, is called a "scholar mathematick," but both of these characters have left their college days far behind them. Thus, while Jonson introduces in his plays college-bred men, he does not give us the undergraduate, and this is typical of the Elizabethan dramatists.

The undergraduate, however, does figure in the literature of the day. John Lyly, who had passed several years at Oxford, refers in his popular novel to students and student life. The following lines show the nature of his comments:

Moreover, who doth know a scholler by his habite? Is there any hat of so unseemely a fashion, anye doublet of so long a waste, any hose so

¹ A rapid reading of 9 plays by Ford, 16 by Chapman, 18 by Massinger, 19 by Dekker, 22 by Thomas Heywood, and 51 by Beaumont and Fletcher, confirms this opinion. Laureo, in Dekker's *Patient Grissil*, has been nine years at the University, and at the opening of the play, leaves college because of his poverty. He is the one college student in all these dramas. Several "poor scholars" are mentioned in them, but they are not connected with a university.

² Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 329, 330.

short, any attyre, either so costly or so courtly, either so straunge in making, or so monstrous in wearing, that it is not worn of a Scholler? Have they not now in steede of blacke cloth blacke velvet, in steede of course sackecloth, fine silke? Be they not more lyke courtiers than schollers, more like stage-players than students, more like ruffians of Naples than disputers in Athens? I would to god they did not imitate al other nations in ye vice of the minde, as they doe in the attire of their body, for certeinely as there is no nation whose fashion in apparel they do not use, so there is no wickednesse publyshed in anye place, that they do not practice. . . . Is it not become a bye word amongst the common people, that they had rather sende their children to the carte than to the Universitie, being induced so to say, for the abuse that reigneth in the Universities?¹

This is hardly a favorable introduction to a consideration of student characters, and yet two dramatists give us as disagreeable a picture of the collegian as does Lylly. We shall select two plays, one written before the appearance of *Q1*, the other, after it—*Friar Bacon* and *Friar Bungay*, by Greene, and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, by Middleton.² In Greene's play we find the scene laid at Oxford, and naturally students appear. We have a graceful description of the college town:

These Oxford schools
Are richly seated near the river side:
The mountains full of fat and fallow deer,
The battling pastures lade with kine and flocks,
The town gorgeous with high built colleges,
And scholars seemly in their grave attire,
Learned in searching principles of art.

Unfortunately the seemly scholars, so far as the undergraduates are concerned, are not shown us, but in their stead we have the student Miles, a clown, a buffoon of the lowest order. In Middleton's comedy we have Tim Yellowhammer brought with his tutor from Cambridge to London. This young hopeful, a broadly comic character, is remarkable chiefly for his bad Latin, and for the ease with which a woman of the town, posing as a Welsh heiress, gulls him into marriage.

¹Arber's *Euphues*, pp. 139-41; also p. 190.

²*Friar Bacon* was published in 1594; *A Chaste Maid*, in 1630. Henslowe's diary records that *Friar Bacon* was acted February 19, 1592; we have no means of fixing the date of the production of *A Chaste Maid*, but it certainly is later than the production of *Q1*.

Turning from these discreditable representatives of the student class, we find Horatio to be one of the most admirable, one of the most lovable characters in English dramatic literature.¹ He is a Dane, but Hamlet has met him, not at Elsinore, but at Wittenberg, for Horatio is not of the court set—he has seen Hamlet's father but once, he is unacquainted with Osric and Laertes, and he asks naïvely, on hearing from the battlements the sounds of the king's carousing, whether such revelry is customary at court. His poverty would bar him from the palace, for he is so poor that he "has suffered all," yet the poor man's contumely he has borne unembittered, and Hamlet, a prince out of his sphere, is drawn irresistibly to this generous, strong, yet modest student. On hearing the news of the king's death, he leaves the university to attend the funeral, and with characteristic modesty forbears even to see his friend in his great sorrow. When Hamlet meets him, and inquires with surprise why he has left the lecture halls, he answers lamely, to spare his friend's feelings, that he is playing truant—"cutting," the American student would say. The instant refusal of Hamlet to accept this statement discloses the manner of Horatio's life, and though the text does not show it, Hamlet evidently entreats his friend to remain with him and aid him. Every trait in the man is admirable. When Ophelia has no helper, it is Horatio who insists that the queen must see her. Though he cannot avert the final catastrophe, his anxiety for Hamlet is always apparent, whether on the battlements, when he restrains the prince from following the ghost, or before the fencing match, when he urges him to postpone the bout. The finer touches are not lacking in this picture, as when Horatio shows a quiet humor in his comment on Osric, or when he bluntly refuses to rate Hamlet's fencing skill as highly as the prince desired. His desperate attempt to drink the dregs of the poison, his consenting to live that he may fulfil Hamlet's last request, complete the portrait of this scholar, a portrait rarely surpassed, as the friendship of Hamlet and Horatio, expressed in so few words, is the finest conception of a

¹ It is strange that so little has been written about him. The forty-two volumes of the *Jahrbuch* contain many articles on *Hamlet*, but the only references to Horatio are Vols. VI, pp. 309, 310; XIX, pp. 32, 33; XXIX, pp. 231-39. Bradley, in his illuminating study of *Hamlet*, passes by "the beautiful character of Horatio." See his *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 166.

college friendship in the English drama. And when all is done, when Horatio has told of the carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts, the accidental judgments, casual slaughters, he receives no honors, but (we must believe) he returns to the university, as quietly as he had left it, to resume the life of a poor scholar.

This analysis of the character of Horatio completes the argument, for it proves beyond question that Shakespeare, when he drew him, ennobled student character. That Shakespeare was led to do this because his works had been commended in the *Parnassus* plays, and by the additional reason that Hamlet was acted at Cambridge, is a theory we have endeavored to justify. Absolute proof in such a matter can never be obtained but we have brought forward several facts that support such a theory. If Shakespearean scholars decide that it is merely an interesting conjecture, even then it may be deemed worthy of consideration, for it serves to place in a new light a noble nature in the profoundest of English tragedies.

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SIX NOTES

GEORGE HERBERT, *VERTUE* 6

Professor Palmer, annotating—

Sweet rose, whose hue angrie and brave
Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye,

refers to *Faith* 38,

With bushie groves, pricking the looker's eie,
and *Frailtie* 15, 16,

That which was dust before doth quickly rise,
And prick mine eyes.

NED., under *Gazer*, quotes (1590) Greene, *Never too Late* 2 (1600):

Lockes where loue did sit and twine
Nets to snare the gazers eyne.

But “rash gazer,” and the suggestion of the color, Herbert may well have obtained from *The Return from Parnassus* (1602?), near the beginning. Judicio speaks:

Drayton's sweet muse is like a *sanguine* dye,
Able to ravish the *rash gazer's* eye.

PARADISE LOST III, 1-8

There seems to be some reason for assuming that Milton, when he wrote the opening lines of Book III of *Paradise Lost*, was acquainted with certain passages of Eusebius' writings concerning Constantine. The following quotations are from the Bagster translation (*Greek Ecclesiastical Historians*, 1845). The text before me is Heikel's (Leipzig, 1902).

Eusebius, *Oration in Praise of Constantine*, chap. i:

Supreme and pre-eminent Ruler of the universe, He shares the glory of His Father's kingdom: for He is that Light which, transcendent above the universe, encircles the Father's person, *interposing and dividing between the eternal and uncreated Essence* and all derived existence (χορεύον μεσιτεύον τε καὶ διείργον τῆς τῶν γενητῶν οὐσίας τὴν ἀναρχον καὶ 469]

dyávugrov iðiav); that Light which, streaming from on high, proceeds from that Deity who knows not origin or end, and illumines the super-celestial regions, and all that heaven itself contains, with the radiance of wisdom bright beyond the splendor of the sun.

Ibid., chap. xii:

In Him we see Light, even the spiritual offspring of inexpressible Light.

With these compare:

Bright effluence of bright essence increase.

Then on the general idea of a "fountain" for light, compare the following, from chaps. i, vi, and xii, respectively:

The countless multitudes of angels, the companies of archangels, the quires of holy spirits, draw from and reflect His radiance as from the fountains of everlasting light (*ðóσπερ ἐξ αειάων φωτὸς πηγῶν*).

Infinite hosts of light surround the Almighty Sovereign, each surpassing the splendor of the sun, glorious and resplendent, with rays derived from the everlasting source of light (*τῆς αἰδίου πηγῆς*).

From Him, as from an everlasting fountain (*πηγῆς*), the sun, the moon, and stars receive their light.

Cf. *P. L.*, III, 375 ff.; VII, 364; *P. R.*, IV, 289.

With "unapproached light" (l. 4), compare (from chaps. i and xii):

The ineffable splendor of the glory which surrounds Him repels the gaze of every eye from His divine majesty.

And He Himself dwelling as Sovereign in secret and undiscovered regions of unapproachable light.

The Biblical passages in question are such as I Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15; I Tim. 6:16; Heb. 1:3.

JONSON, *THE NEW INN* 3, 1, 33

In extension of Tennant's note in his edition of the play (*Yale Studies in English* XXXIV), p. 222, I subjoin the following:

Du Bartas' *First Week*, published in 1579, was very likely indebted to Ramus. In Sylvester's translation (Week 1, Day 6, ll. 908-17) the passage runs:

Once, as this Artist (more with mirth then meat)
Feasted some friends that he esteeméd great,
From under's hand an Iron Fly flew out,
Which having shounē a perfect Round-about,

With weary wings return'd unto her Master,
And (as judicious) on his arme she plac't her.
O divine wit! that in the narrow womb
Of a small fly, could finde sufficient room
For all those Springs, wheels, counterpoint, and chains,
Which stood in stead of life, and spur, and rains.

Ben Jonson wrote a commendatory epigram for Sylvester's translation, with which compare his remarks in his *Conversations with Drummond*.

Gassendi, in his life of Regiomontanus, quotes Ramus' account of the fly. Giambattista della Porta (ca. 1543-1615), Kircher (1602-80), Lana (1631-87), and Wilkins, *Math. Magic*, 1648 (*Math. and Phil. Works* [1802], pp. 194, 195), also repeat the information.

Earlier than all these except Ramus is the statement by John Dee, in his preface (written February 9, 1570) to Billingsley's translation of Euclid (*Sig. Aj, verso*):

Meruaylous was the workemanshyp, of late dayes, performed by good skill of Trochilike, &c. For in Noremberge, A flye of Iern, being let out of the Artificers hand, did (as it were) fly about by the gestes, at the table, and at length, as though it were weary, retourne to his masters hand agayne.

This, again, is evidently based upon Ramus' account of the year before.

We thus arrive at this singular result:

1. Lipsius' fly is not Lipsius', but Ramus'.
2. Ramus' fly is not Ramus', but Müller's.
3. Müller's fly is not Müller's, but that of one or more artificers in his employ, or under his influence.

The prototype of such devices (Ramus also tells of an eagle) is to be found in the dove constructed by Archytas (Aulus Gellius 10, 12).

CANDLES TO MEASURE TIME

A parallel to Alfred's use of candles for the measurement of time (*Asser*, ed. Stevenson, chap. civ) is to be found in Herman Melville, *Typee*, chap. xxviii:

At this supper we were lighted by several of the native tapers, held in the hands of young girls. These tapers are most ingeniously made.

There is a nut abounding in the valley, called by the Typees "armor," closely resembling our common horse-chestnut. The shell is broken, and the contents extracted whole. Any number of these are strung at pleasure upon the long elastic fibre that traverses the branches of the cocoa-nut tree. Some of these tapers are eight and ten feet in length; but being perfectly flexible, one end is held in a coil, while the other is lighted. The nut burns with a fitful bluish flame, and the oil that it contains is exhausted in about ten minutes. As one burns down, the next becomes ignited, and the ashes of the former are knocked into a cocoanut shell kept for the purpose. This primitive candle requires continual attention, and must be constantly held in the hand. The person so employed marks the lapse of time by the number of nuts consumed, which is easily learned by counting the bits of tappa distributed at regular intervals along the string.

SHAKESPEARE, *RICHARD II* II, 1, 41 ff.

In John of Gaunt's second long speech occur certain remarkable lines, well known to most lovers of English poetry. One thought suggested is that of England's good fortune in being so defended by Nature, the same which Tennyson, very likely with these lines in mind, expressed by the phrase (*To the Queen*):

Compassed by the inviolate sea.

The relevant lines of Shakespeare are these:

This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war.

The silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall
Against the envy of less happier lands.
England, bound in with the triumphant sea.

There are three chief points to be considered:

1. England is protected as by a wall, without effort on the part of man.
2. This defense has been provided by Nature, personified by the poet.
3. The defense is provided against the envy of less fortunate nations.

Shakespeare here displays patriotic pride such as an Englishman of the spacious times of great Elizabeth might well feel. But

Englishmen were not the first to feel national pride, nor the first to express it in this way. Such sentiments would seem as natural in the mouth of a Roman writer as of an English one; and, as a matter of fact, we find remarkable parallels to these lines in Latin literature, parallels covering all three of the points enumerated above.

The first passage in order of time is from Cicero's speech on the Consular Provinces dating from 56 b. c. Here the orator says (14, 33):

Nature had previously protected Italy by the Alps, not without some especial kindness of the gods in providing us with such a bulwark. For if that road had been open to the savage disposition and vast numbers of the Gauls, this city would never have been the home and chosen seat of the empire of the world.

Passing over Livy, who simply remarks (5, 34) that the Alps were opposed to the progress of Bellovesus into Italy, we come to Pliny, who says (3, 23) that the Alps exceed in breadth

a hundred miles, where they separate Germany from Italy, but do not elsewhere equal seventy miles, being, as it were, reduced by the providence of Nature.

Next Juvenal, speaking of Hannibal, says (10, 152): "Nature barred his path by Alps and snow." Then an unknown panegyrist of the emperor Maximian (about 290), sometimes known as Mamertinus, addresses the emperor:

... Your journeys, in the very days of winter, over those summits of the Alps which are neighbors to the sky, and by which Nature has defended (*vallavit*) Italy.

Finally, we may quote from Rutilius Namatianus, a native of Gaul, whose poem dates from 416 (2, 31-40):

If we admit that the world was framed in some determinate fashion, and that this great fabric is the contrivance of a god, we must believe that he threw up the Apennines as a defense for Italy, so that its fastnesses are hardly to be scaled by the mountaineers themselves [reading *suis*, with Baehrens, for *viis*]. Fearing the envy of the northern peoples, Nature considered that she had done too little in opposing the Alps to their menaces. In like manner she has intrenched the vital parts with various members, nor has been content with a single inclosure for what

is so precious (*pretiosa*). The future Rome deserved to be environed round with such variety of fortifications, and already in advance was the care of the gods.

The differences between Shakespeare and the Latin writers are non-essential. Italy is protected by the mountains, England by the sea; this is all, unless we insist on the word "infection." On the other hand, the correspondences are striking, especially with Rutilius, the author nearest to him in time and race. Here we have "envy" (*invidiam timuit Natura*), and, singularly enough, though this may be a mere accident, the word "precious," which Shakespeare employs in the same context:

This precious stone set in the silver sea.

There was a Roman edition of Rutilius, published in 1582, which Shakespeare might have consulted, the *editio princeps* dating from 1520.

It is possible, too, that Shakespeare might have had in mind Petrarch's "Ode to the Princes of Italy" (No. 128 of the *Rime*), though here the significant word "envy" is wanting. Lines 33-35 run in Cayley's translation:

Well was our need by Nature recognized,
When with her Alps she threw
A screen betwixt us and the Teutons' rage.

Further search may reveal other possible intermediaries than the one mentioned below. While it is, of course, true that Shakespeare or some English predecessor may have originated the thought in question, yet the possibility, at least, of influence from the Roman genius ought not to be overlooked.

With regard to the sea in the office of a wall, Shakespeare may well have derived a hint from the *Libel of English Policie* (1436-7). Here, toward the end, we read (Hakluyt, 1589):

Keep than the sea about in speciall,
Which of England is the towne wall.
As though England were likened to a citie,
And the wall environ were the see.
Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:
And than is England kept by Goddes hande;

That as for anything that is without,
 England were at ease withouten doubt,
 And thus should every lond one with another
 Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
 And live together werrelesse in unitie,
 Without rancour in very charitie.

CHAUCER, *L. G. W.*, PROL. 334 (358)

In *Westward Ho* (1607), Act I, scene 1 (ed. Shepherd, London, 1873, p. 291) Mistress Honeysuckle, replying to a question of Mistress Tenterhook, says: "Why as stale as a Country Oste,
 an Exchange Sempster, or a *Court Landresse*?"¹ This seems clearly to be a reminiscence of Chaucer, *Prol. Leg. Good Women A*, 333, 334:

Envye (I prey to god yeve hir mischaunce!)
 Is lavender in the grete court alway;

Prol. B, 358:

Envye is lavender of the court alway.

And this, as is well known, goes back to Dante, *Inferno* 13, 64-66:

La meretrice che mai dall' ospizio
 Di Cesare non torse gli occhi pulci,
 Morte comune, e delle corti vizio.

Skeat refers to Gower, *Conf. Am.* 2, 3095 ff. This reads:

Senec witnesseth openly
 How that Envie proprely
 Is of the Court the comon wenche,
 And halt taverne for to schenche
 That drink which maketh the herte brenne.

Other instances are—*Westward Ho*, p. 237:

"M. Wife. Would you haue mee turne common sinner, or sell my apparell to my wastcoat and become a *Landresse*?"

"Just. No *Landresse*, deere wife, though your credit would goe farre with Gentlemen for taking vp of Linnen; no *Landresse*?"

Webster, *White Devil* 4, ll. 87-89 (ed. Sampson, p. 94):

Did I want
 Ten leash of curtisans, it would furnish me;
 Nay, lawndresse three armes.

Devil's Law Case, 1, 2 [Romelio to Winifred]: "You, lady of the laundry, come hither."

In the *Mirour de l'Omme* 3829-40, Gower has:

Envie ensur tout autre vice
Est la plus vaine et la plus nice;
Siccomme ly sages la repute,
Envie est celle peccatrice,
Qes nobles courts de son office
Demoert et est commune pute.
A les plus sages plus despute,
A les plus fortz plus fait salute,
Et as plus riches d'avarice
Plus fait Envie sa poursute.
A son povoir sovent transmute
L'onour d'autry de sa malice.

No one has yet brought to light an earlier source than Dante,
notwithstanding the reference to Seneca.

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ARTHUR IN OLD FRENCH POETRY NOT OF THE BRETON CYCLE

It will never be possible to explain the disparity which exists between the Arthur of history and the Arthur of romance unless more solid historical data be forthcoming than are at present available. Of the group of heroes who engaged the attention of the cultured mediaeval world, Arthur stands between Tristan who is altogether mythical and Charlemagne and Alexander who represent heroes of history.¹

This equivocal position occupied by the Breton hero oftentimes afforded occasion for the disparagement of his name, in mediaeval literature, outside of the Breton cycle proper, and helped to retard the progress he would otherwise have made had he been altogether mythical. For example, in the *Roman de Brut* of Wace, although it is virtually a translation of Geoffrey's *Historia*, there is a certain embarrassment on the part of the Anglo-Norman poet when he treats of Arthur, whose status in history or romance he seems unable to determine for himself.² The compatriots of Wace reveal a similar hesitation with reference to Arthur's historical reality. In all likelihood the identification of Arthur with chivalry would have occurred first in the poetry written in England among the Anglo-Norman *trouvères* if Arthur's poetic attributes had had a readier acceptance among them. As it is, neither the Normans in England nor those on the continent have left to the modern world anything that betrays a poetic appreciation of the Arthur of chivalry. This fact serves to show why the Arthur of romance appeared comparatively late in the poetic literature of chivalry, and had it not been for Chrestien de Troyes and the court of Marie de Champagne, Arthur would have remained a subordinate figure in mediaeval French romance.³

¹ A treatment of some of the problems connected with the Arthur of history is given in *Germania*, Vol. XII, by Holtzmann on *Artus*, pp. 257-84.

² Cf. *Roman de Brut*, vss. 13681-82 and 13688-89; *Roman de Rou*, vss. 11515 ff.

³ Cf. the *Roman de Brut* of Wace, vss. 8955-68 and 9047-52, and Gauchier de Dourdan, *Perceval le Gallois* (ed. Potvin, Mons, 1866), vss. 34137-80, as an indication of the development of the romantic idea concerning Arthur, before and after Chrestien de Troyes, in the second half of the twelfth century.

At this court, about the middle of the twelfth century, the military-Arthur ideal of the north first came into touch with the influences from Provence and made of Geoffrey's Arthur a type for the social life of that age. This Arthur of peace was the creation in poetry of Chrestien de Troyes and the conventional hero of nearly all of this poet's work.

The Breton cycle in which Arthur figures as the embodiment of the social or chivalry ideal flourished during the relatively brief period of half a century. In the case of the *chansons de geste* it is quite otherwise, inasmuch as their *floruit* includes a period long enough to overlap the Breton cycle poetry both at its beginning and at its end. Even though the romances of chivalry or court epic appeared later than the *chansons de geste*, it is to be noticed that many of the poems of the national epic which appeared subsequent to the Arthurian cycle took on gradually the general character of the latter class through the influence of the strictly Breton romances. *Auberi le Bourguignon*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, and *Ogier le Danois*, with their admixture of other than national epic elements, show to what degree the court poetry modified the later epic, particularly in the first half of the thirteenth century.

From this group of sources, just mentioned above, it is possible to gather considerable data concerning Arthur which, at the same time, reveal the effect of the poetry of the Breton cycle upon the other branches in vogue during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, namely, the cycles of Alexander, of the Crusades and of Charlemagne, together with poems such as *Richars li Biaus* which lie outside the national epic between the *chansons de geste* and the *romans d'aventure*.

With the exception of a few writers who mention Arthur as connected with romance early in the twelfth century,¹ and leaving aside poems like the *Roman de Thèbes* and *Ille et Galeron* which use his name only incidentally in order to magnify into heroic

¹ Cf. Marcabrun, cited in *Romania* VI, p. 123; Josephus Iscanus, *De Bello Trojano*, III, pp. 472-73 (London, 1825); *Mon. Germ.* (ed. Waitz, 1879), Vol. XXIV, p. 607, ll. 14-17: "Proinde militem quendam veteranum Robertum dictum Constantinensem, qui de Romanis imperatoribus et de Karlomanno de Rolando et Olivero et de Arthuro Brittaniae rege eum instruebat et aures eius demulcebat;" this was said by Lambert d'Ardres of the Count of Guines in Picardy, who gathered men of learning about him to teach him.

proportions the events there described, Arthur does not appear in French writings until the time of the *Tristan* poetry.¹

In the beginning, Arthur and Tristan represented quite separate legends, since Geoffrey of Monmouth does not know Tristan, and it is safe to infer that the union of the Arthur and Tristan legends became common only after *Béroul*. Arthur's relation to the *Tristan* legend in either *Béroul* or *Thomas* is not vital to the narrative. In *Thomas'* poem, which is the best specimen of *Tristan* poetry extant, Arthur's name is employed merely for poetic comparison and to give a clearer idea of the time in which the adventures of his hero and heroine take place.² In *Béroul*, Arthur, with his knights, journeys from the north down to Cornwall to be present at the trial of *Iseut* and to serve as her defender.³ The presence of Arthur in each of the fragment poems is occasioned directly, as it happens, by *Iseut*; it is *Thomas* who makes *Iseut* recall Arthur's combat with the giant *Ritho*, on account of a similar adventure which befell *Tristan* in Spain; *Béroul* introduces Arthur into his narrative by having *Iseut* suggest to King *Marc* that he summon him to her trial.⁴ As to the details of characterization of Arthur in *Béroul*, the usual features are present—Arthur as protector and example of generosity; the knights; the Round Table; in short, the traditional heroic figure of romance as it had evolved toward the close of the twelfth century and, possibly, borrowed from *Chrestien de Troyes* by the successor of *Béroul* to add incident or variety to the *Tristan* theme.⁵

Near this same period, both in the *Roman d'Alexandre* and in the *Roman de Renart* are to be found instances where the name of Arthur replaces that of some classical fable hero, a substitution due probably to the general interest which the Breton cycle poems

¹ Cf. *Roman de Thèbes* (ed. Constans, 1890), Vol. III, Appendix V, p. 306, vss. 13271-72: *Ainc puis le tans au roi Artu N'oif on parler de tel fu;*" *Ille et Galeron* (ed. Foerster, Halle 1891), vss. 2805-6: "Et si les fierz de tel vertu C'ainc puis le tans le roi Artu."

² Cf. *Roman de Tristan* (ed. Bédier, 1902), vss. 714-80.

³ Cf. *Roman de Tristan* (ed. Muret, 1903), vss. 3542-54; 4141-71.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, vss. 3232-91; exception should be made here of the episode in which the dwarf *Frocin* proposed to King *Marc*, as a ruse, to send *Tristan* with a message to Arthur who was then in the north of England; cf. vss. 648-54.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, vss. 3735-43.

were creating at this time and the prominence which they gave to Arthur.¹

In all the poetry of this epoch cases are very common where Arthur's name is introduced on account of the exigencies of the rhyme; in fact the use of this device accounts for the relatively frequent mention of this hero's name in poetry where it has no special relation to the context of the narrative. For example, in *Aiol*, the young hero's charger, *Marchegai*, is likened to those steeds of King Arthur which none but their master could approach.² The French editors find no explanation for the name of Arthur in the passage, while Foerster, in his edition, cannot parallel the reference to Arthur, but adds that numerous instances of similar horses exist in the *chansons de geste*.³ In view of the common practice of filling out a line with the name of an already well-known hero, the attribution to Arthur of these fabulous animals is a convenient resource of poetry often employed by the *trouvères*. This is probably such a case. A late example of the sort is shown in *Octavien*, a poem of the early fourteenth century, where the name is adopted for the sake of rhyme, and, together with the name, a mythical element added, applicable to any fabulous hero.⁴

Arthur is represented, in the poetry now being considered, as a ruler of various possessions. The *Tristan* of Béroul shows him reigning over England at the same time that Marc is King of Cornwall.⁵ In *Girart de Roussillon* he is mentioned as Arthur of Cornwall who had fought aforetime in Burgundy.⁶ The romance of Ipomedon makes Arthur king of France; and in the *Lai d'Havelok* he presents Denmark, one of his conquests, in fief to

¹ Cf. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand* (Paris, 1886), Vol. II, p. 171, n. 2, and p. 216; *Roman de Renart* (ed. Martin, Strassburg, 1882-87), § XXIII, vss. 1425-26: "Jusqu'as bones qu' Artus les fit Est-il sire, si con il dist;" *Conquete de Jérusalem* (ed. Hippéau, Paris, 1868), vss. 3739-40.

² Cf. *Aiol* (ed. Normand et Raynaud, Paris, 1877), vss. 935-37: "Cis est de la taverne trop tot issus; Che samble des cevaus le roi Artu: Ne peut consentir home que tout ne tut."

³ Cf. *Aiol et Mirabel* (1878-82), n. to vs. 936: "Die Anspielung auf die Pferde Artus die niemanden an sich kommen liessen, kann ich nicht belegen. Einzelne chansons de geste kennen ähnliche Pferde." Cf. Stengel's *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 79.

⁴ Cf. *Octavien* (ed. Vollmoller, Heilbronn, 1883), vss. 2280-83: "Diex, come sont bien escler(u)ies, Ves, quel heaume et quel escu! Cis est de cheualiers Arthu, qui ocent quanqu'il atainent!"

⁵ Cf. *Romania*, Vol. XXXV (1906), pp. 497 ff., and *Roman de Ham* (ed. Michel), p. 225.

⁶ Cf. *Gérard de Rossillon* (ed. Michel, Paris, 1856), p. 244, ll. 6, 7.

Hodulif.¹ It is only natural for the mediaeval romances to extend the realms of Arthur beyond the limits of his native island and his government over other peoples besides the Celts, inasmuch as Geoffrey of Monmouth had already given currency to this idea as early as the *Historia*. The purpose of the Welsh prelate was no doubt to keep pace with the known historical exploits of Alexander and Charlemagne, though at the risk of weakening Arthur's relation to his own people in their national unity.² One of the conditions of the propagation of the Arthur cult in romance during the Middle Ages was that this hero should represent not alone the successful defense of his own realm but the conquest of other lands as well.

The Arthur of French poetry, in contrast to the Arthur of Breton legends, is therefore a denationalized hero whose sway over many countries was required by the demands of mediaeval romance. In measuring up to the standard of world-heroes like Alexander and Charlemagne, Arthur had to forego his exclusive kingship of the restricted area occupied by the Celts and make himself a world ruler.

From a number of poems which are found in this period—the turning-point of the twelfth century—it may be shown that the interest in Arthur had grown so great as to call forth numerous protests from poets who sought a hearing for other matter than the Arthurian. A case is given of a *trouvère* who, weaving together the sheerest kind of fable out of his imagination, decries the, to him, mythical story of Arthur and his knights and sets up his own narrative as the solid truth.³ The prologue of the *Chevalier au Cygne* states that the stories of the Round Table are but lies in contrast to the subject which the poet is about to unfold.⁴ In a like manner, although at a somewhat later date than the poem just given, the prologue of *Richars li Biaus* names, in a lengthy

¹ Cf. *Lai d'Havelok* (ed. Michel, Paris 1833), vss. 601, 602.

² Cf. Alanus de Insulis, *Prophetia Angl.* (Freiburg, 1603), p. 22.

³ Cf. *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne* (ed. Todd, *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assn.*, 1889), vss. 329-99: "Maintes foies avés mainte novelle ole De la cort roi Artu et de sa baronie; De Gavain son neveu et de sa compagnie Et des autres barons dont la fable est bastie. Ce fu fable d'Artu u go fu faerie, Mais ce fu verités, nel mescreées vos mie, De ces .V. chevaliers et de lor compagnie."

⁴ Cf. the edition of Hippéau, Paris, 1877, vss. 11 ff.

array, all the existing cycles of poetry so as to have it appear that they, all together, were not worth this one poem the author was inscribing; the Breton cycle heroes are included in one group, but for some reason, possibly because it had become so common a word, the name of Arthur does not occur among theirs.¹ Huon de Villeneuve in his revision of *Doon de Nanteuil* deplores the taste of his times which demanded subjects like *Audigier*, *Morgan*, and *Arthur* instead of the real and worthy poetry which he laments as neglected and forgotten.²

In several other poems derogatory allusions occur with reference to the name of Arthur, whether expressly or not it would be difficult to determine, inasmuch as the name happens in the verse without any particular motive.³ In *Elie de Saint-Gille*, for example, the pagan king of Alexandria, when he first beholds Bernard of Brabant, unites, in one exclamation, Arthur and Gauvain and also Pilate from the nether world.⁴ These few indications just given above, it should be said, are derived from passages in poems which have no essential bearing on the main theme of the poems and are to be considered, therefore, as only incidental. There are no such strange developments in French poetry with reference to the character of Arthur at this period (1200–1225) as are to be noted in German literature with this hero for subject. Certain episodes of *Diu Crône* make a curiously grotesque depiction of Arthur, who appears here to be a sort of *roi fainéant*, whereas the nephew of Arthur, Gauvain, as in the English romances, replaces his uncle as the hero of the poem.⁵

The belief that Arthur would return, although a popular idea fixed in certain localities, was not shared by the *trouvères* in the poetry now being examined; they all inclined to slight the notion in their works or to employ it in figurative expression as a synonym

¹ Cf. the edition of Foerster (Halle, 1874), vss. 1–32.

² Cf. *Romania*, Vol. XIII (1884), pp. 10 and 18.

³ Cf. *Doon de Mayence* (Pey, 1859), vss. 2468–69; *Enfances Vivien* (ed. Wahlund und von Feilitzen, Upsala, 1885), vss. 2760–92: "si estes viex le poil avez chenu, bñ sembles or du tans le roi Artus, mal soit de l'arbre q' to iorz porte fruit."

⁴ Cf. the edition of Raynaud (Paris, 1879), vss. 653–56 and p. 117, l. 8: "Dist Jossés d'Alixandre: 'Cis vieus est merveillous! C'est Artus de Bretaigne u Gavain, ses nevos, U Pilate d'enfer u Mordrant l'airous, Qui manguent les homes .V. u .III. en .I. jor!'"

⁵ Cf. the edition of Scholl (*Bibl. des Litt. Ver. Stuttgart*, Vol. XXVII, 1852), vss. 3365–70, 5081–90, 10613 ff.

for despair. Other heroes in poetry of the mediaeval period were expected to return in due time to reign again, Charlemagne and Ogier le Danois among the number. The reason the return of Arthur should have evoked, from very early date, the misgiving it did, in contrast to the acceptance which a similar belief met with in the case of other heroes, was not so much that Arthur, unlike them, was not to return, but rather that the Bretons had placed too much stress upon a local tradition no more worthy of respect than were similar myths connected with other heroes. It was the Bretons' zeal for their national hero. Near the end of the twelfth and through the course of the thirteenth century the same expressions occurred on this subject as were current before.¹

In the numerous poems which mention Arthur, during the period under consideration, it is not difficult nor unreasonable to read into the references to this hero something more than a simple embellishment of verse or a device of rhyme. The common instances where Arthur is reputed to have once possessed a certain lance or sword, for example, are not intended as historical record by the poet, but as having purely romantic signification.² Such attributes or accessories of romance represent so many elements of fable growing around the name of a mythical personage.³ In accordance with this tendency and as a result of its cumulative effect the fourteenth century went still farther in the same romantic direction. It may be that through the Celtic influences working upon the *chansons de geste* or in some other way not definitely ascertained the figure of Auberon appears in French poetry in

¹Cf. *Garin le Lohrain* (ed. P., Paris, 1833-35), Vol. I, p. 238, n. 2; and *Garin le Lohrain* (ed. P., Paris, 1962), Liv. II, chap. xii, p. 100. Kressner, *Rustebuefs Gedichte, Lai de Brichemer*, vss. 15, 16: "Autel atente m'esteut fere Come li Breton font de lor roi"—reference to some acquaintance of Rustebuef who took a long time to fulfil his promises. *Philippe de Mouskés* (ed. Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, 1838), vss. 25207-8: "Mais Breton atendent folie, Quar Artus ne revenira mie." Cf. also Appel, *Provenzalische Inedita* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 194, ll. 10, 11.

²Cf. *Gérard de Rossillon*, p. 244, vss. 6-8: "Lo coms demanda espiet, Drogues loh baila Un que aportet Artus de Cornualha, Que ja fetz en Bergonha una batalha." Meyer, in his note to this passage, says that he knows of no such adventure as the one here mentioned; cf. his translation of this poem (Paris, 1884), p. 276, § 593. *Doon de Mayence*, vss. 8753-56: "Garin tint Finechamp: son pere li donna Quant le deluge fu, en terre souffossa; Meslin quand il vivoit, as Englois l'enseigna, Artus la tint maint jour qui souvent l'esprouva." *Anseus de Cartage* (ed. Alton, 1892), vss. 3057-59: "Rois Anseus, si baron et si dru Se desarmèrent el palais o lambru En une cambre, ki fu del tens Artu." *Godefroi de Bouillon* (ed. de Reiffenberg, 1848), vss. 7571-72.

³Cf. *Aye d'Avignon* (ed. Guessard, 1861), vss. 3776-77; *Renaus de Montauban* (ed. Michelant, 1862), vss. 16723-24.

the thirteenth century.¹ With whatever care the early poets had differentiated the matters of France, Rome, and Britain it proved to be of little avail after Auberon, son of Julius Caesar and Morgan, sister of Arthur, had become identified with French epic poetry. The advent of Auberon represents the fusion of the matters of France, Rome, and Britain, but at the same time also it marks the epoch of dissolution of the entire body of epic poetry, preparing it for its conversion into prose form.

Following close upon the departure already made in *Huon de Bordeaux*, at the opening of the fourteenth century, in the romance of *Auberon*, Arthur and his sister are shown as spirited from Britain into the presence of Brunehaut at Rome. On the next day Arthur and his knights return to their land in the north as swiftly as they had come, the day before, leaving Morgan with Julius Caesar, to whom, as it seems from the narrative, she has been both betrothed and married in the space of one day.² The romance of *Esclarmonde* represents Huon and his wife wafted through the air to Monmur, the enchanted region of which Huon is recognized king by Auberon just previously to Auberon's death.

One of the conditions of the compact between Huon and Auberon was that the former should defend Monmur on St. John's day of each year against Arthur who laid claim to the land which Auberon had solemnly sworn that Arthur should never seize.³

One episode in the *Bastars de Buillon* has to do with an adventure into the realm of Artus li faés, who rules over a sort of Lotus-land in company with his sister Morgan on the remote shore of the Red Sea.⁴ In *Brun de la Montagne*, a poem of the second half of the fourteenth century, Arthur has numerous magic territories attributed to him.⁵

¹ Cf. Nyrop, *Storia dell' epopea francese* (1885), p. 113, and note; *Huon de Bordeaux* (ed. Guessard, 1860), p. xx.

² Cf. A. Graf, *I Complementi della Chanson d'Huon de Bordeaux* (Halle, 1878), vss. 1259-1308; in this poem, it is to be noticed that Arthur is an old man, *Artu le roy chenu* (vs. 2234); usually there is no allusion to Arthur's age when he is mentioned in the poems. Cf. *Méliador* (ed. Longnon, Paris, 1895), vss. 4-6.

³ Cf. *Esclarmonde* (ed. Schweizel, in Stengel's *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*), LXXXIII, p. 126, and Schaefer, *ibid.*, XC, p. 102.

⁴ Cf. the edition of Scheeler (Bruxelles, 1877), vss. 3311-13 and 3552-55: "Atant es vous Artus, le noble conquérant, Richement couronné de couronne luisant, Deus fées gracieuses l'aloient adestrant, L'une fut sa soeur Morgue, qui à prisier fist tant."

⁵ Cf. *Brun de la Montagne* (ed. Meyer, Paris, 1875), vss. 570 and 3237-39.

By making Arthur the center of a fairy world, late mediaeval poetry simply enhanced the romantic idea which had been received from the Breton cycle proper of Chrestien de Troyes and his immediate successors. In this cycle Arthur stands as a model of kingship overruling affairs in a world of reality. This personified ideal of social excellence, as it is portrayed, for example, in the romance of the *Chevalier as deus espées*, was developed from the martial Arthur of a preceding age by the same process which had transformed, by this time, the Arthur of the fourteenth century out of the Arthur of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹ Owing to the very meager historical nucleus represented in the career of Arthur, there has never been a time when his name did not have romantic elements attached to it. Yet it may be said, in general, that the heroic Arthur of legend evolved in the Middle Ages along the lines of development common to all heroes of romance—the fabulous element increasing at the expense of any historical data which may have existed in the beginning until nothing of the historical hero remained except the name.²

As a pendant to the subject of Arthur in the poetry of this period, the romance of the *Chevalier du Papegau* should be cited, though it is only a prose adaptation from a verse original.³ It gives a lamentably distorted portrayal of the traditional Arthur of the twelfth-century poets. This story had for its original hero a knight by the name of Guiglois, and all the adventures which befall him in the poem are simply transferred to Arthur in the prose version. For instance, Arthur, upon receiving a wound in the face from Lion sans Mercy, is represented as returning the compliment, after both combatants were finally unhorsed, by hacking off the left arm of his adversary. This substitution of Arthur for the first hero, Guiglois, is, to use the words of the editor of the prose text, *ein ganz glücklicher Griff*, for the reason that Arthur was known in those days the world over as a great hero, yet no romance of the Round Table had ever made of him

¹ Cf. the edition of Foerster (Halle, 1877), vss. 1-50; *Du Mantel Mautaillié* (ed. Montaiglon, 1878), pp. 1-3.

² The Arthur of Chaucer, for instance, is not the Breton cycle hero but simply a myth of fairyland corresponding to this latest stage; cf. the edition of Skeat, Vol. V, pp. 313, 314, 374-76.

³ Cf. the edition of Heuckenkamp (Halle, 1896), p. xxx.

a fighting monarch. There can be no doubt, of course, that the inventiveness of the adaptor of the prose *Papegau* must have pleased immensely those readers of the fourteenth century who had tired of the traditional Arthur. None the less, this story is a weird disfigurement.

During the troubled period of the Hundred Years' War, the memory of the ancient heroes was revived by the poets, and especially by Deschamps, who strove to inspire in his generation a courage like that of the old days.¹ Alexander, who in all mediaeval romance had been the pattern of *largesce*, became in these later times renowned for valor and emprise, in keeping with his original historic character. Arthur is mentioned as one of the *Neuf Preux* in the company of the other worthies of Christendom; Deschamps included Du Guesclin, who had just died, as worthy to join Arthur's number, making Du Guesclin the tenth champion.² In the same warlike spirit, Philippe de Mézières employs the names of Arthur and Charlemagne, urging the kings of England and France to wage war upon their common enemy the infidels.³ Thus, the ideal of the militant Arthur of early Breton tradition was reinstated during the period of Du Guesclin and Jeanne Darc in order to rekindle a fighting spirit.

Out of the foregoing data from the metrical romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some idea may be gained of the fiction elements that have to do with Arthur among the French *trouvères* of that period. In order to furnish an adequate survey of the subject in its manifold phases it would be necessary to give the outline of a poetic history of Arthur similar in idea to the notable contribution to mediaeval herology by Paris on Charlemagne.⁴

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¹Cf. the edition of Saint-Hilaire and Raynaud (Paris, 1882), Vol. III, pp. 265, 266.

²Cf. Deschamps, *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. xxxvii. *Chevalier au Cygne* (ed. Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, 1846), vss. 2210-14. *Hugues Capet* (ed. La Grange, Paris, 1864), vss. 2905-8: "Je croy que sa proëche doit estre comparée Descore tous les preus dont on fait devisée: Alixandre ly rois, li sire de Caldée, Ne Artus de Bortaigne n'y vallurent rien née." *Chronique de Philippe de Mouskés* (ed. Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, 1858), vss. 24553-62: "Et saciés que puis qu' Alixandres Regna très Grèse jusqu'en Flandres, Ne puis qu' Artus Frances conquist, C'on nommait Galle si c'on dist. Ne Julius-Cézar regua, Ki mainte tiere gaëgna, Ne Augustes-Cézar, ses niés, De qui les estoires teniés, Ne Clovvis no Carlemainne, Qui tant conquist à son demainne."

³Cf. the edition of Jorga, *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes-Études*, Vol. CX (1896), p. 487.

⁴Cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1885 and 1905).

A GUIDE FOR THE BLIND¹

For a good many years past we have been treated to popular science, but until comparatively recently popular scholarship has been spared us. Time was when only the scholar could consult "sources," but now-a-days democracy demands equal privileges for everybody, in scholarship as in politics and society. If the would-be investigator cannot go to the "sources," then the "sources" must be brought to him. This style of work having become fashionable, it is of interest to see how it may be done, and inasmuch as the recent facsimile reproduction of *The Old Yellow Book* of Browning, "with translation, essay, and notes," bears the *imprimatur* of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, one of the learned institutions of the world, it is no doubt fair to take it as a type of the best work of its class, and to suppose that an examination of its merits may throw some light upon the whole realm of literature to which it belongs.

No doubt we shall all agree that such translations, as intended not for the scholar but for the "general reader," should be clear in language, accurate in rendering, and adequate and exhaustive in the presentation of materials. The man who needs the translation has not the knowledge to serve as a check upon the translator. He puts himself unreservedly under guidance and trusts to his *cicerone*—a faithless class too, *ciceroni*—not to lead him astray or furnish him with spurious information. Unless the guide be qualified for his position, the most zealous of the personally conducted through the fields of erudition will acquire from his excursion but a confusion of distorted, inaccurate, utterly unscientific notions.

Unfortunately the accredited expositor has in this instance brought to his task a quite uncommon ignorance of the three languages that might have been helpful to him and his readers.

¹ *The Old Yellow Book*, source of Browning's "The Ring and the Book," in complete photo-reproduction with translation, essay, and notes, by Charles W. Hodell; ccxlii+345 pp. Carnegie Institution of Washington, July, 1908.

His Latin may be gauged by his translation of *toto coelo*, "in the face of all heaven" (p. 96), or *operae pretium ducere*, as "pay down the price of toil" (p. 50); his Italian by his rendering of *volto a dire*, as "I turn back to say" (p. 76); his English by such a sentence as "Browning uniformly locates the home on the Via Paolina" (p. 318). Indeed his characterization of the language of the lawyers' pleas as "inaccurate grammatically, amorphous rhetorically, and utterly without the lift which a lawyer with good command of language should give to the treatment of a technical subject" is so admirable a description of his own translation that one can forgive the slight injustice that it does Arcangeli and Bottini. Beyond a doubt the Latinity of the ecclesiastical courts in the year of grace 1698 was somewhat barbarous—"No Tully, Ulpian at the best"—but it would need an added infusion of Boeotianism to find adequate transcription into such English as "We believe we have sufficiently canvassed these matters with galloping pen because of the shortness of the time of merely three hours" (p. 133), or "For Pompilia to show herself at her window at the hiss of her lover does not savor well" (p. 92).

At its best the translation of the vernacular pamphlets is highly Italianate. At its worst it bears little relation to the original. Everywhere it teems with sins, negligences, and ignorances. "I forbear to respond to what the Anonymous Writer has tried to have believed to the praise of Abate Paolo Franceschini, to excite greatly our pity" (p. 183). Such is the translation when it is accurate. Mrs. Plornish, we all remember, attained such celebrity by addressing Signor Baptista, "Me ope you leg well soon," that it was considered a very short remove from speaking Italian, and if the general reader, who was the object of the translator's amiable intentions, entertains this same theory of the relationship of tongues, he may perhaps be satisfied with the translation. In a translation he may fail to be startled by the violence of such a metaphor as "tear our house to tatters," p. 73 (*lacerino la nostra casa*). Perhaps—in a translation—he may consider "The execution of poor Signor Guido has taken place, with the loss of his head" (p. 190) merely a neat circum-

locution. He may admit that Pompilia acted "entirely by mere instigation" (p. 76). He may regretfully allow that "her matronly shame had been tampered with" (p. 94). It may seem entirely natural, in translator's English, that Pompilia's recourse to her supposititious parents should be described as "going back to the pity of the Comparini," p. 174 (*ricorrere alla pietà di dd. coniugi Comparini*). Captious criticism shall not assail "Pietro Comparini was supplied with plenty of money from the full hand of some unknown person," p. 121 (*Pietro Comparini abbondante di danaro somministratoli con larga mano da persona ignota*). Compassion shall be "living," p. 173 (*viva*), Violante shall be "imbued with Guido's flatteries and endearments" (p. 170), Caponsacchi's lay dress shall be stigmatized as "improper clothes" (p. 148), Pompilia's alleged conduct shall be called "dishonest," p. 153 (*inhonesta*). All this jargon the reader for whose use translations are prepared will accept naturally. Moreover, the piquancy of the narrative will carry him through passages like the following:

And all that is being reported that a driver testifies that he had seen them kissing along the road has no legal foundation. For it rests merely on the word of a single witness of the lowest class, and he swears to matters that are quite improbable, because he had to drive the carriage with such rapidity as that with which the fugitives were following their journey. Hence it was almost impossible for him to look backward, or to see what they were doing inside of that covered carriage. And this is all the more so because his deposition is vague, nor does it specify whether the kisses were given at night or by day. But his deposition is rendered much more doubtful and improbable because, in such a swift journey as the carriage was making, it might chance during the jolting of it that the accident of their faces meeting casually would arise, and to him this might seem the act of kissing. This happens very commonly, even when one is making no such journey, according to the quality of the road and the rough ways which one finds (p. 179).

To dimly suspected inaccuracy, to occasional obscurity, to tormented language, to well-meant attempts to minimize the differences made at the Tower of Babel, the reader of translations will show a resigned, perhaps a cheerful, complaisance, but unless he has learned from Mr. Henry James or Mrs. Eddy that oracles

speak always in riddles, will he not misdoubt his guide when he comes upon such a passage as this: "But this shall never be, even if there do not follow both love and concord. I will never advise that," p. 89 (*Questo non sarà mai vero, se pure non seguisse d'amore, e d'accordo; ma io non ce li consigliarò*). Or: "In the Court many a time I exaggerated the excess of her supposed conception," p. 107 (*essagerai più volte nel Tribunali l'eccesso del Parto supposto*).

Will not such utterances convince the uninitiated that "sources" are indeed strange and wonderful? The slight residue of obscurity in "The Ring and the Book" will become quite intelligible, the murkiness and turbidity of its source being considered. Browning will seem for once to have clarified, and not to have clouded. In apparent contradiction to his alleged predilection for befogging the clear and involving the simple, he will seem in this case to have found a limpid narrative, a fluent argument, where to the bewildered vision of the reader of the translation only turbidity and confusion and obscurity resided.

For the vindication of Browning from the frequent charge of wilful obscurity, such an impression perhaps ought to receive encouragement, but whether it is in consonance with the facts is decidedly open to question. Perhaps we cannot demand of the translator that his translation affect the reader as the originals affected their several circles of readers in the year 1698. The scholastic subtleties of the lawyers, their casuistical logic, their pedantic array of authorities, will not touch the intellect even of the jurisprudents of our generation, as they did the auditors of the Papal Camera in the seventeenth century. The popular pamphlets cannot again evoke the interest that they did when Guido and his four companions were lying in prison, their fate still undecided, and all the tongues of Rome wagging about them pro or con as only Italian tongues can wag. Only on the supposition that they were accompanied by a potent love philter, can even the most sentimental of our generation understand the alleged emotional effects of the love letters. The old tragedy may be brought again upon the boards, but to us the actors are puppets, and not *personaggi* as they were to the spectators of two hundred years ago.

We cannot be made to feel as the Romans of that day felt, but it is not too much to demand that this translation of the actors' parts make upon us, within measure, the same impression that the originals produced upon at least one man of our own time, to-wit, Browning. It is not inconceivable that Browning might have written his "Agamemnon" with only Professor Verrall's translation before him. It is safe to say that, with all his love of the recondite, the obscure, the bizarre, with all his carelessness of form, with all his avidity for *causes célèbres*, he would never have seen the visions that he saw that June night on the terrace above Felice church, if the Hand always above his shoulder had placed before him this English translation of *The Old Yellow Book*.

The *parto supposto* of the last quotation, in both its Italian and its Latin form, has led the translator into strange and fantastic liberties with his mother tongue. Being untrammelled by Flaubertesque scruples as to diction, he is free to endeavor by various shots to hit the mark. The "excess of her supposed conception" (p. 107) is perhaps the wildest shot. More often we hear of "Pompilia's pretended birth" (p. 153), or "the pretense of birth" (p. 164), or "the supposed birth" (p. 154), or "the falsity of the birth" (p. 50). Or, we read: "The said Francesca Pompilia was not their daughter, but was of a false birth" (p. 172). Again: "After a pretense of her birth had been made, she had been received and brought up by them" (p. 50). Under whatever variant forms the phrase appears, it is calculated to enhance the extraordinary character of the adoptive mother's confession to the Grand Penitentiary.

Jargon and cryptic utterance may perhaps pass muster in a translation, but the reader will be more simple than gentle if he is not sometimes conscious of a distinct break in the argument, whether it be in the direct narrative of the Italian or in the elaborate periods of the Latin. For example, Pompilia in her deposition, speaking of her husband's unreasoning jealousy, relates that he accused her of remaining upon the "balcony"—so *loggia* is translated—"in order to make love," and that she defended herself against the charge by pointing out that she could not look into the windows of the neighboring house, "for the balcony was

only as high as our heads" (p. 70). "A very extraordinary balcony, that of the Franceschini palace," the reader curious of architectural detail is bound to reflect. Even granting, however, such an odd excrescence upon the Aretine palace, he will wonder why it conclusively prevented a glimpse into neighboring windows. At this point a smattering of Italian might help him. *Perche soprastava d. loggia alli Tetti solamente*, runs the Italian. This *loggia* up above the neighboring roofs will appear a perfectly familiar feature of Tuscan domestic architecture, and moreover its situation will explain the absurdity of Guido's suspicions. Can it be that a professional translator has mistaken the second *t* in *tetti* for the long *s* in *teste*, and so translated *roofs* "heads," with a truly English contempt for the foolish conventions of grammatical gender.

Another passage, this one from the Latin, which interrupts in a similar way the argument, may serve to confirm the suspicion. "The assembling of armed men" (*coadunatio armatorum*) for any purpose was forbidden in Rome, but it appears that some distinction of penalty was made between an assemblage *ad malum finem* and an assemblage *ad bonum finem*. Our translator renders *ad malum finem* properly enough "for an evil end," but to the demolition of the argument translates *ad bonum finem*, "in good faith" (p. 155), again despising servility to the letter and transcending the bounds of a purely arbitrary gender.

To multiply examples of this sort of inaccuracy which sometimes muddles and sometimes distorts the meaning of the context, would be an easy but a tedious task. *Laetalia vulnera eidem inferat*, "inflicts wounds unhesitatingly upon her" (p. 65), which is a rather ingenious translation if one derives *laetalia* from the same root as *laetus*; *Sacro Testo*, "Sacred Witness" (p. 124), which to a Protestant unversed in Catholic phraseology might seem a not unduly odd epithet for the Holy Scriptures; *cameriero* "chambermaid" (p. 75), which may be intended as a translation of an unknown into a known custom, rather than of an unknown into a known tongue—may suffice to illustrate this phase of the translator's shortcomings as a guide to the monoglot reader, although pp. 163 and 177 may be referred to for specimens of

particularly inconsequent argument. But in the words of our translator, "I pass over responding to the many other improprieties, which have been advanced uselessly and without any point by the said Writer" (p. 183).

Of the style of the translations from the Latin I will therefore not speak, though had the Harvard freshman perpetrated such a version of Cicero, it is safe to say it would have brought the luckless youth once more into scandalous notoriety. Quite apart from the translator's inadequate knowledge of the foreign and maladroit handling of his own language, he has proceeded upon a theory of translation which only the nicest sense of linguistic values and the most acute perception of the logical trend of an argument could put into successful execution. To reduce them to "intelligible English idiom," the Latin periods have been "broken up" (p. 4). As a result, for the elaborate but closely compact Latin structure, we have a simple but disjointed English sentence arrangement, in which very generally the logical emphasis of the original has been shifted. The structural relations of the idea are distorted. In the process of splitting up the sentence the subordinate becomes co-ordinate only to the injury of the logical proportions. When relative clauses, ablative absolutes, even interjected illustrations, become independent sentences, the principal clause runs some risk of losing not only its grammatical but also its logical supremacy. So it happens that in many paragraphs of this translation there seem to be many members but no head, many statements but no argument. Professor Hodell's theory of translation is too delicate an instrument to be placed in ordinary hands.

The entire critical apparatus bound up with the Book is avowedly designed for the elucidation of the "source problem" (p. 294). Now indubitably one of the points upon which Browning's readers will most desire to have light is the source of the canonistic lore in the lawyers' speeches and the origin of such passages as

Cornelia de Sicariis hurried to help
Pompeia de Paricidiis; Julia de
Something-or-other jostled Lex this-and-that;

and it is on precisely these points that those who read the Latin pleas will receive most enlightenment:

Magnum quidem facinus, sed maximopere commiserandum, & excusatione dignissimum, cui saeverissimae leges indulgent, & mitissimè se gerunt erga Maritos notam Infamiae delentes sanguine adulterarum Uxorū *l. Si Adulterium cum incastu 38 § . Imperatores ff. ad leg. Jul. de Adulter. l. Marito 24. ff. eod. leg. Gracchus C. eod. leg. 1. § . Fin. ff. ad leg. Cornel. de Sycar. l. Si quis in gravi 3. § . Si tamen Maritus ff. ad Syllan. clar. § . Homicidium. num. 49. Giurb. cons. 86. num. 9. Berlich. pract. conclus. § . 4. conclus. 27. num. 152. Caball. resol. crim. cas. 300. num. 5. Farinacc. quaest. 121. num. 63.* Quod idem sancitum fuerat in legibus Athaeniensium, & solonis, hoc est sapientissimorum Legislatorum, & quod magis est in illo rudi saeculo Romuli *leg. 15. ibi—Adulterii convictam vir, & Cognati uti volent necanto—ut refert ibi Balduin. Piccard. in § . Item lex Julia de Adulteriis num. 3. Instit. de public. Judic. & similiter in legibus 12. Tabul. ut refert Aul. Gell. noct. Act. lib. 10. cap. 23. Tiraquell. ad leg. Connub. 15. num. 13. Covar. in Epitom. Decretal. lib. 4. part. 2. cap. 7. § . 7. in princ. & num. i., Ameseva de potest. in se ipsum cap. 13. num. 12. in fin., Mattheae. de re crim. controv. 11. num. 8. (p. x).*

So early as the second page of the Book one thus finds the key to much that is curious in "The Ring and the Book." So much for "those readers of Browning who are conversant with Italian and Latin." What of "the rest of his public" (p. 4), those for whom the translation has been provided? This is the version that they get:

Great indeed is this crime, but very greatly to be pitied also, and most worthy of excuse. Even the most severe laws give indulgence and are very mild toward husbands who wipe out the stain of their infamy with the blood of their adulterous wives. [Citations.] This indeed was sanctioned in the laws of the Athenians and of Solon (that is, of the wisest of legislators), and what is more, even in the rude age of Romulus, law 15, where we read: "A man and his relatives may kill as they wish a wife convicted of adultery." [Citations.]

"Citations" will throw little light upon

The Athenian Code,
Solon's, the name is serviceable,—then,
The Laws of the Twelve Tables, that Fifteenth,—
"Romulus" likewise rolls out round and large;
The Julian; the Cornelian; Gracchus' Law.

Yet the names thus summarily lumped together would explain every allusion here made besides such lines as

See "De Re
Criminali," in Matthaeus' divine piece,

or

Our Farinacci, our Gamaliel erst,
In those immortal "Questions."

This habit of omission, designed no doubt to simplify the text and therefore to be helpful to the reader, becomes at times an embarrassment and source of perplexity, as when we read "according to the prescript of the Bull" (p. 35), no Bull having previously been referred to, or "a text in the law of Emperor Hadrian" (p. 25), as though the great patron of Salvius Julianus and forerunner of Justinian had made but one contribution to the code. The Latin runs in one case "*ex praescripto Bullae Reformationis san. mem. Pauli V. § :10. n. 3.*;" in the other "*Textus in leg. Div. Adrianus ff. ad leg. Pomp. de Parricid.*" The translator being accustomed to a short and easy method of dealing with "Citations" curtails them unduly even in passages like these, in which as integral parts of the text they exact of him a somewhat less summary treatment. As if to compensate, however, for his drastic suppression of the legal documentation, he exercises the utmost care to give chapter and verse of biblical quotations and is at pains to indicate that

Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum,

is from "Verg., Aen., iii, 44" (p. 173), an interesting fact of which the reader of the Italian original will be left in ignorance.

The whole matter of proper names, indeed, is a vague and perplexed one to our translator. Whether to let his jurisconsults and other authorities wear their Latin or their vernacular names, is a question about which his judgment is continually vacillating. The great lawyer of the Cenci trial appears now as Farinacci, now as Farinaccius. Chasseneux appears under his Latin name on the same page with Soccini; Farinacci and Raynaldus appear together in the same sentence (p. 85). Sometimes we have the

Latin form of the name, as "Marsilius," sometimes the Italian, as "Sanzio," sometimes the English, as "Ulpian," and sometimes, shall we say, the Esperanto, as "St. Hilario" (p. 169). Take the form "Hilario." It is not the Latin Hilarius, nor the Italian Ilario, nor yet the English Hilary, nor even the French Hilaire. Yet one conversant with any one of the four languages would recognize what is meant; and is not precisely this the specific quality of Esperanto?

The same might be said of the curious names under which the jurists Pellegrini and Matteo d'Afflitto appear. By all the laws of assimilation that obtain in the Italian tongue "Peregrini" (p. 192) and "Afficti" (p. 30) are condemned as aliens, nor do I know in which of the Romance commonwealths they can claim citizenship, unless it be in the one which like themselves has come into being by autocratic fiat.

In still odder guise appear two famous Milanese. Aegidius Bossius would hardly recognize himself under the exotic appellation of "Boss" (p. 193), and we may assert with confidence that in all these five hundred years and more Gian Galeazzo Visconti has never before figured as "Galeatus, Viscount of Mediolanum" (p. 64).

Whether it is desirable or undesirable to translate proper names of men or places may be a subject for academic discussion, but it is not too much to ask that a translator make up his mind on the question beforehand and then hold to his theory consistently, at least in the course of one piece of work. Variety may be artistic, but it is not scientific. If we have Farinacci in a work of scientific scholarship, then we have a right to expect Ciriaco, and not Cyriacus, or if Mediolanum is the form that appeals to the translator, then Arretium and Florentia and Neapolis must follow. Can we, however, expect systematic precision of nomenclature from a guide whom no scruples of language or geography deter from translating *episcopo Tornacensi*, "the bishop of Tornacensis" (p. 27), or *in Senatu Matritensi*, "in the senate of Matritensis" (p. 17)?

One other indictment on the score of proper names must be entered: often the form, though not necessarily incorrect, is mis-

leading. "Gratian," if it suggests anything to the average English reader, brings to mind the unfortunate son of Valentinian, who is *not* meant, and not the twelfth-century Bolognese monk of Santi Felice e Nabore, who *is* meant. If the reader is familiar with the history of canon law, he probably needs no translation; if he is not, "Gratian" will mislead him, as "Gratianus" or "Graziano" would not do, since these unfamiliar forms would at once apprise him of his ignorance.

Or take: "Calvin gives other cases so decided [Citations]" (p. 15). It is startling to hear the great heresiarch thus adduced as authority in a papal court, for it is the Genevese reformer and nobody else that the name Calvin inevitably connotes to the American Protestant mind. Among us it is he who possesses a kind of prescriptive right to the name, and in any case it may well be doubted whether a German jurist, *né* Kahl, and masquerading in learned circles as Calvinus, has any claim to dispute it with him. The reader who has no special knowledge to check the translation is bound to get an erroneous impression.

Upon such an inconsistency as the use in the same paragraph (p. 132) of the two forms "Ecclesiastical State" and "Ecclesiastic State" to designate that portion of Italian territory generally known as the States of the Church, or upon the idiosyncrasy of spelling *kingdom* with a small *k* though the Kingdom of Naples is referred to (p. 23), perhaps only a meticulous criticism would insist. It is not, however, too much to demand that an accredited interpreter of pamphlets "in the Apostolic Chamber's type" should be aware that a *congregatio* is not a "special sitting" (p. 121); that to render *in causis tam beneficialibus, quam profanis*, "in causes philanthropic or profane" (p. 133) is neither technically nor substantially correct; that *domus pro carcere*, the "technical designation of the home of the Comparini" which "is found in the decree of transfer and is often repeated throughout the Book" (p. 317), was not employed for the first time in this case.

Again, when one reads of "Judge A. C. Tommati" (p. 315), it is difficult to resist the impression that the translator believes the prefixed letters to indicate the prelate's baptismal names, and one

can but regret that Tommati did not happen to be the *Editore del A. C. met.*, that we might have seen under what grotesque guise his name would then have appeared. But conceding the utmost to a learned man—though appearances are against him—and granting that he knows that A. C. stands for *Auditor Camerae*, ought he not of his learning to assist the unlettered reader to a proper understanding of the letters, instead of lulling him into the belief that they represent something familiar?

In the face, however, of the translator's rendering *tres Auditores Sacrae Rotae*, "three students of the Sacred Law" (p. 112), it is a strain upon charity to concede him any knowledge about Auditors or indeed about any part of the papal system of administration. "Sacred Court," though in itself distressing as a translation of *Sacra Rota*, becomes quite tolerable after one discovers how wide the limits of variation from the original may be. As *Rota* is a term which occurs in "The Ring and the Book," as well as in the Book, it would seem that our translator ought to have explained its meaning to us, as he amiably explains the meaning of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*. Possibly, however, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the apparent source of the latter bit of erudition, failed him under the title "Rota."

And this brings us to the subject of the "corpus of topical notes," where, perhaps it is needless to say, the same unscientific lack of system—symptomatic, shall we say, of "turbid heads" (p. 69)—prevails as in the translation. The announcement is explicitly made that "the annotation has been confined to the source problem" (p. 294). Yet many points that are raised both by the Book and by "The Ring and the Book" are left without explanation, while some quite irrelevant matter has been introduced. For instance, we look in vain for any account of the Roman judicial system or method of legal procedure, but we find a long discussion of the authority for the Formosus story, who, be he who he may, from Luitprand to Fleury, was certainly not one of the lawyers or pamphleteers of *The Old Yellow Book*. On technical terms the notes are almost uniformly unsatisfactory, and under "luogo di monte" it is difficult to accept a definition, untranslated, from an Italian dictionary, as an

adequate discussion of one of the great institutions of papal financial administration.

On the other hand, the editor has shown praiseworthy activity in indicating Browning's verbal and structural dependence upon his source. He has inserted some interesting information about the Franceschini family, and searched the registers of San Lorenzo in Lucina for Pompilia's birth, marriage, and death records.

Matthew Arnold, in his strictures upon this American life of ours, never spoke more truly than when he suggested there might be some defect in our perception of *whatsoever things are elevated*. How far this may be due to our education already tending to assume the form that President G. Stanley Hall recommends for the education of women, is an interesting question. The famous rule of President Hall is "to keep nothing that is not to become practical; to open no brain tracts which are not to be highways for the daily traffic of thought and conduct; not to overburden the soul with the impedimenta of libraries and records of what is afar off in time or zest." Is not such an education as this to shut one up in his own time, his own language, his own country, his own stratum of society, to make him blind to the beauty of antiquity, deaf to the magic incantations of the Middle Age, impervious to the spirit of other climes and other customs? If his education has ignored the imagination, narrowed the sympathies, confined the range of curiosity, will any amount of conscientious effort and willing service enable him afterward to pass beyond his own *milieu*, to feel and to communicate the atmosphere of a foreign country, a remote epoch, a strange religion?

However this may be, in translation, essay, and notes alike, the editor of *The Old Yellow Book* betrays a curious remoteness from his subject. In Catholic Italy he is quite *dépayssé*. For him the pope is "the crown of the institutional church of his day" (p. 270); the *compunzione*, in the throes of which mediaeval Italy became the mother of mystics and of saints, becomes in Pompilia "Christian tenderness" (p. 138); the grim old Aretine palace in which Pietro and Violante had suffered every privation and insult remains still to the American mind the "home"—returning one night they find themselves "locked out of the

home" (p. 171). No man who has ever walked the galleries of Italy with joy and seen the majestic figures of the heroine of Bethuel which the art of every age has placed upon the walls could have described her thus: "Judith, who was an entirely chaste widow, of decorous appearance and fine looking in many ways," p. 91 (*Juditham castissimam Viduam decora facie, & undique ornatam*).

For the idyllic grace of maternal love in Browning's *Pompilia*, we have the fatuous sentimentalism of "Pompilia's mother yearning" (p. 296), "the little Gaetano" (p. 283). For the compressed dignity of the Latin *angustia rei familiaris*, we have the crude concreteness of "the meagerness of the home comforts" (p. 184). The cheap religiosity of such phrases as "a true Christian hero" (p. 287), "the spirit of self-sacrificial love, which is the essence of Christianity" (p. 288); the pert crudeness of "the resurrected story" (p. 290); the indulgent Protestantism of "an embodied Madonna" (289); the up-to-date tang of "Claudius Jr." (p. 23) for *Claudius filius* or "Modestinus, Doctor of Law" (p. 25) for *Modestinus, Juris Consultus*; the general grotesqueness of diction as shown in the employment of words like "forbear," "chippy," "raised" in the sense of *reared*; the ostentatious employment of words only half understood, like *genre* and *macrocosm* (pp. 290, 291)—are not all of these typical of the lack of elevation, the lack of distinction, the lack of cultivation, which obtains too much among us even in academic circles where "culture" is a profession? Not once in this study of a noble poem are we lifted into the spiritual empyrean. Not once in this tale of seventeenth-century Italy do we breathe any air but that of twentieth-century America. Is it unfair to wonder whether such a work can be of aid to any form of scholarship, be it popular or otherwise?

In conclusion, however, it should be said that whatever the value of the critical apparatus appended to the work, the Carnegie Institution has rendered a notable service to real scholarship in reproducing *The Old Yellow Book*. The Book, reposing in its glass case in the Balliol College library and existing so far as was known in a unique exemplar, was practically as inaccessible

as the "dogseared Spicilegium" or the "vulgarized Horace" that flanked it once in the Piazza San Lorenzo.

Having the Book we shall no longer hear from one critic that Bottinius' monologue is "too preposterous in its vigorous blackening of his client, Pompilia's character," nor from another the ardent rejoinder that "there does exist in every great controversy a class of more or less official partizans who are engaged in defending each cause by entirely inappropriate arguments." The pleas of the lawyers pro and con, which are found in full in the Book, prove once more the reality of the improbable and the folly of over-subtle exegesis. Bottinius, who at first blush seems to hold a thread of discourse as wildly improbable as Mrs. Nickleby or Flora Finching, appears in the Book quite as in "The Ring and the Book," with his literary allusions, his pedantic casuistry, his utterly and, apparently, consciously futile arguments, his frank admission of the possibility of his client's guilt. Browning never was a caricaturist; the publication of the Book vindicates him even in the hitherto doubtful case of Bottinius.

The possession of the Book settles also such questions as why Browning introduced such "a cramp of Latin," told trifling, prosaic, irrelevant tales, and adduced all sorts of legal authorities with names never before heard in the poetry of any tongue. We know now that he did it for the very simple reason that all these things were in his original. "*Sfrisiandum*," vocable unknown to Du Cange; the Smyrnean woman; Farinaccius, Butringarius, Castrensis, and their *confrères*; the pseudo-saying of our Lord, *Honorem meum nemini dabo*; there they all are; Browning did but speak by the Book.

Even the form which Browning chose for his masterpiece will no longer afford matter for discussion. That, too, is found to have been suggested, if not determined, by the source. Not only do the procurators and the advocates present plea, proof, and information; not only are the depositions of Caponsacchi and Pompilia presented in the summaries; not only have we a file of the forged love-letters, which, it may be said parenthetically, appear to belong to cryptic rather than erotic literature; but in two anonymous pamphlets in the collection, written and circulated

in the interests of Guido and Pompilia respectively, appear the unmistakable lineaments of Half-Rome and The Other Half-Rome. Exegetical, psychological, antiquarian points, raised by "The Ring and the Book," are illuminated by a flood of light now that its source is known.

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DESCHAMPS' "THUIREVAL"

In a ballade of five stanzas and an envoy, Deschamps champions the cause of the Leaf as opposed to the Flower, and in the envoy cites a number of distinguished Frenchmen who hold with the Leaf.

Royne sur fleurs en vertu demourant,
Galoys d'Aunoy, Mornay, Pierre ensement
De Tremoille, li borgnes Porquerons,
Et d'Araynes Lyonnet vont loant,
Et Thuireval vostre bien qui est grant;
Pour ce a feuille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.¹

Again, in the envoy of a ballade addressed to the Seneschal d'Eu, the main author of the *Livre des Cent Ballades*, he mentions other French courtiers whom the Seneschal is to consult if he is in doubt as to the answer of the question that has been propounded to him.²

Seneschal d'Eu, mes cuers en vous se fie,
Enquerez bien de ceste maladie
Au Tourangoys, a Le Breth et au fort
Au conte d'Eu, Harcourt, Jehan de Trie,
Et pour estre mieulx la chose fournie,
Demandez ent a l'amoureux Cliffort.

These various names are identified by Raynaud in his index to Deschamps,³ and Professor Kittredge in his interesting account of the last-named courtier, Sir Lewis Clifford, has touched upon them.⁴ Neither Raynaud nor Kittredge, however, has been able to identify "Thuireval." Under this name Raynaud has in his index

¹ *Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps* (S. A. T. F.), IV, pp. 262-64.

² Lequel vault mieulx a jeune chevalier
Et a homme qui par le monde va,
Belle dame, s'il se veult marier,
Qui jeune soit, ou moyenne qui a
L'ange passé! Et laquelle prendra
Pour le meilleur et pour jolieuse vie
Le chevalier?

—*Ibid.*, III, pp. 375, 376.

³ See Vol. X (S. A. T. F.), *Index des noms propres et des matières* under the names "Aunoy," "Mornay," "Le Trémouille," "Poquière," "Araynes," "Orléans (Louis d')," "Albret (Charles d')," "Artois (Philippe d')," "Harcourt (Jean VI)," "Trie (Jean de)," "Clifford."

⁴ "Chaucer and Some of His Friends," *Modern Philology*, I, 1.

merely "membre de l'Ordre de la *Feuille*," which is nothing more than a repetition of what Deschamps had already said, and Kittredge says, "Thuireval has not been identified."¹

There exists, nevertheless, evidence which seems to show that Thuireval, like Clifford, was an English knight, perhaps a friend of Clifford's; and also, that in at least one instance he may have been connected with Chaucer in a rather remote manner. Chaucer on October 15, 1386, in the refectory of the abbey at Westminster, deposed before John de Derwentwater in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy that he was "del age de xl ans & plus armeez par xxvij ans,"² thus giving us the main evidence upon which the date of his birth rests. Sir Lewis Clifford was also one of the deponents in the same controversy, and also upon the side of Scrope. His testimony was given four days after Chaucer's (October 19, 1386), in the same place, and before the same commissioner;³ and was preceded by that of John Thirlewall, who is in all probability the "Thuireval" of Deschamps' ballade. The slight variation in the orthography would not hinder the identification.⁴ His deposition was one of the most interesting of the many that were given in that long trial over the right to the arms azure a bend d'or, and contained several rather remarkable statements concerning the age of his father.⁵

From it we learn that Thirlewall was the youngest of several brothers; that according to his own statement he was fifty-four years old in October, 1386, and had been armed for thirty-two years and upward, which would place his birth in the years 1331-32 and would make him about twenty-two or younger when he first took up arms.⁶ The usual age at which men were armed in those days was fifteen or sixteen, but it was not unheard of for

¹ *Modern Philology*, I, 5, n. 6.

² Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, I, 178.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 183.

⁴ Cf. the many variants of the name Chaucer (Korn, *The Ancestry of Chaucer*, p. 10) or those of Clanvowe (Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, I, 15, n. 4).

⁵ Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, I, 181; II, 425.

⁶ There have been many wild and whirling guesses made as to the meaning of *armeez* and the value of *plus* in the *Roll* (cf. Schmitz, *Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer Modernized*, London, 1841, p. cxiii; Shaw, *Complete Manual of English Literature*, New York, 1871, p. 37; Thoms, *Notes and Queries*, 4 S., VII, pp. 338, 478), but an examination of their use in the *Roll*, the details of which cannot be given here, proves conclusively that *armeez* refers to the number of years during which the deponent has borne arms. *Plus* was a variable quantity whose exact value cannot be determined; it usually represented a small number.

them to take up arms at the age of twenty-one or thereabouts. Thirlewall testified that his father, when he died, was "of the age of $\frac{xx}{vij}$ and v," and that it had been "forty and iiiij years" since his death; from his testimony we also learn that his father had been armed during sixty-nine years and that he was probably present at the battle of Falkirk in 1298. If these figures be accepted as accurate, the deponent's father must have been seven score and five years old and have died about 1342. There are reasons for doubting the accuracy of the record at this point,¹ but it is practically certain that the elder Thirlewall attained a very advanced age and was perhaps a centenarian—his son stated him to have been at the time of his death the oldest esquire in the North.

It is evident from his deposition that the deponent had seen much active service in the wars of the period, and since he distinguishes between his direct assertions and what "he had heard," it may be assumed that he himself was in the army before Paris in 1360, at Ballynghamhill and Caux in the autumn of 1369 under the duke of Lancaster, and connected with the expedition into Scotland under the king in person, in August, 1385.²

There is, of course, no direct proof that the "Thuireval" of Deschamps' ballade refers to the Thirlewall who testified in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy; the probabilities, however, favor such an identification, and it may therefore be worth our while to collect what information we can regarding John Thirlewall. As the deponent testified that he was from the North he must have been connected in some way with the family of Thirlewalles that were for generations seated at Thirlwall castle in the county of Northumberland.³ The account becomes at times a bit

¹ Besides the inherent improbability that he was 145 years old, it should be noted that if this age be accepted as accurate, then the son was born when the father was about 135 years of age, and the father was over one hundred at the battle of Falkirk, and not armed until late in life. The terms in which the age and other figures are given offer an easy opportunity for making mistakes, and the error was probably made by the scribe who took down the deposition rather than by the deponent. I am reminded of this point by Professor Kittredge, to whom I also owe thanks for many other corrections and suggestions.

² For an account of these expeditions see Mackinnon, *History of Edward the Third*, London, 1900.

³ Professor Kittredge has called my attention to the account of the Thirlwalls contained in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, Pt. II, Vol. III (1840): Thirlwall township and manor, p. 143; Thirlwall pedigree, pp. 144-46; Thirlwall castle, pp. 147, 148.

confusing owing to the fact that there were three John Thirlwalls — John Thirlwall, Senior, who was the father of John Thirlwall, Junior, who was in turn the father of another John Thirlwall. It will perhaps conduce to clearness if the names are taken up in the order just given.

In October, 1365, as John de Thirlwall, Senior, and then in the King's service, he had letters of protection for himself, men, and servants in Greenhowe and Rileygh, in Lidale (*Rot. Scot.*, I, 896). In 1369 we find him styled lord of the castle and manor of Thirlwall (*Evid.* 8);¹ and in the same year he was in a commission on border matters for the West Marches with his neighbor Thomas de Blenkinsop, the bishop of Carlisle, and others (*Rot. Scot.*, I, 935). In 1377, he was a witness to the Swinburne entail of lands on his son [grand-son] John; and, in 1379, on a commission on matters respecting the Middle Marches (III, ii, 34; *Rot. Scot.*, II, 20).²

In 1369 John Thirlwall, Junior, constituted Philip Thirlwall his special attorney to give livery in his name to John Thirlwall, Senior, lord of the castle and manor of Thirlwall.³ In that same year Thomas de Penreth granted lands in the forest of Inglewood in Northumberland to John Thirlwall and Christiana his wife (Cristina in record).⁴ On February 18, 1379, John de Thirlwall "the younger" of Cumberland, with seven others, was appointed "to array and equip with arms all the men in that county capable of defending it, so as to resist hostile invasion and the destruction of the English tongue."⁵ Among his associates was John Derwentwater before whom the John Thirlewalle of the Scrope and Grosvenor trial testified. On May 13 (3 Ric. II), John de Thirlewall, Junior, with four others, was commissioned to arrest all who export skins and wool felts from England into

¹ Hodgson, p. 147; *Landsd. MS.*, 1448, fol. 55.

² Hodgson, p. 145.

³ Hodgson, pp. 145, 147.

⁴ Nicolas is wrong in ascribing to him the reference in *Rot. Scot.*, 39 Edw. III., m. 4; this record refers to John Thirwall, Senior (see above). *Rot. Scot.*, I, 896; *Rot. Orig.*, II, 296; Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, II, 425-26. See also pp. 427-33, where Nicolas has given a sketch of Clifford which may be compared with the fuller account compiled by Professor Kittredge. Richard de Thirlwall, king's yeoman, received a grant referring to the forest of Inglewood, dated at Stirling, June 13, 1337 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Edw. III, Pt. III, m. 30, 1334-38, p. 460), which he later resigned (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Edw. III, Pt. I, m. 20, 1338-40, p. 453).

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 2 Ric. II, Pt. II, m. 31 d., 1377-81, p. 359.

Scotland.¹ The connection of John Thirlwall, Junior, with the King's expedition into Scotland is shown by an order, dated July 28, 1385, detailing him and five others to guard the town and castle of Carlisle with ninety men-at-arms and a hundred archers in the absence of John de Nevil, keeper of the town and castle, "whom the King has ordered to accompany him in his present expedition of war against Scotland."² During this war (December 11, 1386) John Thirlewall the younger was granted remission for life of 24s. 6d. of the yearly rent of 64s. 6d. at which he held, by grant of Edward III to him and to Christiana his wife, sixty-four and one-half acres in the royal waste of Inglewood.³ John de Thirlewall the younger was twice appointed (February 20, May 20, 1386) controller of certain repairs to the fortifications of the castle of Carlisle.⁴

John de Thirlwall, Senior, was a son-in-law of Sir William Swinburne, and in 1377 certain estates of the Swinburnes were entailed upon his grandson John de Thirlwall on the condition of his bearing the name and arms of William de Swinburne.⁵ The phrase used in the document is "Johannis filio Johannis de Thirlwall junioris;" among the witnesses, as has been already noted, was "Johanne Thirlewall seniore."

There are in the records of the time other notices referring to John Thirlewall without mention of "Junior" or "Senior." Someone of that name represented the county of Cumberland in the Parliament that met at Westminster in October, 1386,⁶ and John Thelwall was sheriff of Cumberland county on November 20, 1386.⁷ The form Thelewele appears occasionally as a variant for Thirlewall,⁸ and it may therefore be that we have a reference to Thirlewall's death in the mention on July 1, 1394, of Richard Wynwyk, "executor of the will of John de Thelewall."⁹ The arms of

¹ Hodgson, p. 145; *Rot. Scot.*, 3 Ric. II, m. 3, II, p. 22.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Ric. II, Pt. I, m. 39, 1385-89, p. 10.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Ric. II, Pt. I, m. 5, 1385-89, p. 71.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Ric. II, Pt. II, mm. 21, 31, 385-89, pp. 112, 129.

⁵ Hodgson, Pt. III, Vol. II, p. 34 (1828); Pt. II, Vol. III, p. 145 (1840).

⁶ *Rot. Claus.*, 10 Ric. II, m. 16 d.

⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Ric. II, Pt. I, m. 13, 1385-89, p. 238.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ric. II, 1377-81, General Index under "Thelwall."

⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 18 Ric. II, Pt. II, m. 34, 1391-96, p. 540. The date would accord well with the age given by the deponent in 1386.

Thirlewalle were, Sable, a chevron argent between three boars' heads couped Or.¹

Although the identification is by no means certain, it is not improbable that the John Thirlwall referred to in these last records is in some cases, if not in all, John Thirlwall, Junior. It would also seem probable that the John Thirlewalle of the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy was John Thirlwall, Junior, were it not for one point. The deponent testified in 1386 that it had been "forty and iiiij years" since his father's death, whereas, as we have seen, the father of John Thirlwall, Junior, was living in 1377. Hodgson regards this evidence as conclusive, but I am inclined to think that the question is still at least doubtful. In the first place, it will be noted that the deponent does not definitely state that his father died in 1342, but says that it has been forty and four years since the death of his father. We have already seen that there must have been a scribal error in this testimony, because the deponent at the same time stated that his father was 145 years old. I think that it is not unlikely that the mistake extends to the "forty and four" as well as to the "seven score and five"—perhaps the first phrase should have been merely "four."

Furthermore, unless the error is regarded as affecting the statements of the deponent as to the death as well as the age of his father, his statements will be inconsistent. He himself was born in 1331-32; his father, though not 145 years old, must still have been an extremely old man, since the deponent specifically stated that his father had borne arms sixty-nine years and was at the time of his death the oldest esquire in the North. If, now, 1342 be regarded as the correct date of his father's death, then the deponent must have been born within ten years of that event—that is to say, probably after the father was over eighty years of age, certainly after he had reached the age of seventy. If the statement that his father had borne arms sixty-nine years be correct, the father must have been at least seventy years old, and probably older, at the birth of his son. Minor points that also make for the identification are the fact that the deponent's father was an esquire, as was also the father of John Thirlwall, Junior,

¹ Vincent's "Northumberland" in the College of Arms.

and the fact that all the probabilities favor such a view; the details given in the deposition fit John Thirlwall, Junior, and there is no other John Thirlwall known to whom they could be ascribed.

But whether this identification be correct or not, we have at least ascertained that the hitherto unidentified "Thuireval" of Deschamps' ballade was almost certainly an English knight named Thirlwall.

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EICHENDORFF AND THE VOLKSLIED

Critics of Eichendorff generally assume the existence of a more or less intimate relation between his lyric and the Volkslied. But the manner and extent of this popular influence in his choice of themes, in his views of life and nature, and in his diction and versification, has never been definitely determined.¹

Eichendorff's connection with the general movement of the Romantic School in favor of popular poetry was, at the beginning of his poetic career, a close one. He attended the University of Heidelberg in the year 1807-8, at a time when this movement had reached there its climax in the appearance of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806-8) and of Görres' *Volksbücher* (1807). His relation to Görres was one of respectful intimacy and he attended his lectures and assisted him in the preparation of the supplement to the *Volksbücher*, published in the *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1808.² Eichendorff did not, however, collect folksongs for *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* as Höber, for example, would have us believe.³ It is even possible, if not probable, in the light of recent investigation, that he never came in contact in Heidelberg with the publishers of the *Wunderhorn* and that it was not until the winter and spring of 1809-10, in Berlin, that Eichendorff formed a close friendship with the two.⁴ However, Eichendorff could not have left Heidelberg without having shared in a large measure the prevailing interest in German folk-poetry. The *Wunderhorn* was easily accessible, he was associated with Görres, had as his most intimate friend Count Loeben, who showed a warm interest in all kinds of popular poetry, and he read *Die Zeitung für Einsiedler*, which was first published in the spring of 1808 and which contained contributions in the popular manner from Uhland and Kerner, and essays on folk-poetry by others.

¹ An investigation of this subject is to appear in my dissertation soon to be published.

² Wilhelm Kosch, *Briefe und Dichtungen aus dem Nachlass des Freiherrn Joseph von Eichendorff*, Köln, 1906.

³ *Eichendorff's Jugenddichtungen*, Berlin, 1894, p. 21.

⁴ Cf. Pissin, *Otto Heinrich, Graf von Loeben*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 135 ff.; but see also Kosch, "Zur Geschichte der Heidelberger Romantik," *Euphorion*, Vol. XIV (1907), p. 310.

The interest in the Volkslied which Eichendorff had thus gained at Heidelberg came to expression soon after his return to his home in Silesia where he began a collection of German and Polish popular tales, for which his knowledge of the Polish language peculiarly fitted him.¹ This work was unfortunately cut short in 1810 by his removal to Vienna, and was never published. It is not unlikely that the material which he had thus brought together would, if accessible, aid us materially in determining his relation to popular poetry.

Eichendorff's early contact with the Volkslied is further shown by his own productions. From the beginning of his poetic career until its close, we notice two prominent influences at work in his lyric, the romantic and the popular. The poems written during 1808, which practically mark the beginning of his literary activity, were produced almost wholly under the influence of the Romantic School and particularly under the influence of Novalis, Tieck, and Loeben.² But we notice also in this early period a new force at work in Eichendorff's lyric, slight but unmistakable, which in most respects directly counteracts the first. In the group of 70 poems which Pissin lists under the year 1808 not more than half a dozen show clearly Volkslied influence.³ But the themes of these are almost wholly free from the romantic haze which pervades the others. Vague, allusive expressions after the manner of Tieck and his followers, like "Wunderfernen," "dunkle Zaubergänge," "goldne Träume," "süsschauernd," "seltsam lockend," have given way here to a vocabulary representing simpler and more definite ideas in imitation of the Volkslied. Beginning with the year 1809 the Volkslied exerts a prominent influence upon the lyric of Eichendorff, and it is an interesting fact that during the next five years he gives us nearly all the songs that have become most popular.⁴

¹ Goedeke, *Grundriss*, zweite Aufl., Vol. VIII, p. 179.

² Note, e. g., the sonnets to Loeben in Joseph und Wilhelm von Eichendorff's *Jugendgedichte*, hrsg. von R. Pissin, Berlin (no date), pp. 3 ff.; further, his poetic effusions to the Virgin, *ibid.*, pp. 9 ff.; also "Die Zauberin im Walde," *ibid.*, p. 40.

³ E. g., "Erwartung," *ibid.*, p. 25, "Abendständchen," p. 28, and "Trost," p. 55.

⁴ Under the year 1809 may be cited "Herbstliedchen," *Jugendgedichte*, p. 56, "Die Kleine," p. 57, "Jäger u. Jägerin," p. 58, "Studentenfahrt," p. 60, "Die Stille," p. 61, "Mein Schatz, das ist ein kluges Kiud," p. 65, songs which have every characteristic of the Volkslied.

Heine has often been compared with Eichendorff, and it is not to be denied that there exist many points of similarity between them. But in their relation to the Volkslied there is also an important difference. While Heine, in his best poetic period, represented by the "Lyrisches Intermezzo" and the "Heimkehr," presents one style, a resultant, so to speak, of two forces, the romantic and the popular, from which we find little variance, in Eichendorff the same two influences run parallel. In other words, Eichendorff presents two styles which often unite but which not infrequently appear definite and distinct. In the one he continues in a modified degree the romantic tendencies so prominent in his early period. In many poems representing this style the influence of the Volkslied, while evident, is but slight. In illustration of this we quote the first stanza of "Nachtzauber" (1853):¹

Hörst du nicht die Quellen gehen
 Zwischen Stein und Blumen weit
 Nach den stillen Waldesseen,
 Wo die Marmorbilder stehen
 In der schönen Einsamkeit?
 Von den Bergen sacht hernieder,
 Weekend die uralten Lieder,
 Steigt die wunderbare Nacht,
 Und die Gründe glänzen wieder,
 Wie du's oft im Traum gedacht.¹

On the other hand Eichendorff has a large list of poems which lack almost entirely the characteristics of those cited; their style is that of the Volkslied. Contrast, for example, the stanza quoted above with the following from "Studentenfahrt" (1809).²

Der Frühling ist der Freudensaal,
 Viel tausend Vöglein spielen auf,
 Da schallt's im Wald bergab, bergauf:
 Grüß dich, mein Schatz, viel tausendmal!

¹ *Gedichte* (Dietze), p. 215.

² See further, in *Jugendgedichte*: "Nachtfeier" (1810), p. 74, "Mittagsruf" (1811), p. 99, "Zeichen" (1812), p. 107, "Die wunderliche Prinzessin" (1812), p. 120. *Gedichte*: the large number of sonnets, also "Die Lerche" (1818), p. 179, "Der Abend" (1826), p. 38, "Morgenständchen" (1833), p. 184, "Lockung" (1834), p. 91, "Der Weckruf" (1834), p. 269, "Todeslust" (1840), p. 287, "In der Nacht, 2" (composed 1849), p. 263. Date of poems cited from *Jugendgedichte* is year of composition; the date of those cited from *Gedichte* is year of publication, since their date of composition is, in most cases, uncertain.

³ *Jugendgedichte*, p. 66.

Querüber über's Wasser glatt
 Lass werben deine Aeugelein,
 Und der dir wohlgefallen hat,
 Der soll dein lieber Buhle sein.¹

The natural inference from this is that the popular manner remained with Eichendorff a conscious thing. But we need not conclude from this that his popular songs are therefore something stilted and artificial. He shows from the very beginning a penetration into the mode of thought and speech of the folk such as we do not find for example in the early popular productions of Heine and Wilhelm Müller. While these² acquired the art of composition in the popular style by laboriously copying both the themes and the diction of the Volkslied, Eichendorff shows much more independence, particularly in his choice of themes. Many of his songs give the same general impression as does the Volkslied. They have the same simple theme, they are similar in vocabulary, turn of phrase and stanzaic structure. But when we attempt to trace the direct sources of these we do so with little success.

The probable sources of two of Eichendorff's songs, "Das zerbrochene Ringlein"³ and "Lied mit Thränen"⁴ have long been known. A more direct borrowing, however, than either of these, which seems thus far to have escaped notice, is his "Verschwiegene Liebe," a poem of two stanzas, the first of which particularly concerns us and reads:

Ueber Wipfel und Saaten
 In den Glanz hinein—
 Wer mag sie erraten,
 Wer holte sie ein?
 Gedanken sich wiegen,
 Die Nacht ist verschwiegen,
 Gedanken sind frei.⁵

¹ For further illustrations see poems cited above (p. 512, n. 4). Also *Jugendgedichte*: "Der Jäger Abschied" (1810), p. 83, "Der Sänger" (1811), p. 90, "Das zerbrochene Ringlein" (1812), p. 111, "Der vorirre Jäger" (1812), p. 117; *Gedichte*: "Die ernsthafte Fastnacht" (composed 1814), p. 135, "Der Musikant" (1826), p. 14, "Der Soldat" (1828), p. 20, "Wanderlied der Prager Studenten" (1828) p. 50, "Wanderschaft" (1833), p. 12, "Die Zigeunerin" (1834) p. 19, "Uebermut" (1837), p. 192, "Der Bote" (1837), p. 193, "Kehraus" (1838), p. 346, "Die Saale" (1841), p. 313.

² Allen, *Wilhelm Müller and the German Volkslied*, Chicago (Diss.), 1901, p. 82. Goetze, *H. Heines Buch der Lieder u. sein Verhältnis zum deutschen Volkslied*, Halle (Diss.), 1895, p. 10.

³ Vilmar, *Handbächlein für Freunde des deutschen Volksliedes*, Marburg, 1867, p. 194.

⁴ Höber, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁵ *Gedichte*, p. 214.

The poem was no doubt written in the poet's later years, since it was first published in *Robert und Guiscard* (1855) and did not appear in the collected poems until the second edition, Leipzig, 1864. Eichendorff had here in mind the well-known Volkslied "Gedanken sind frei," the first stanza of which is especially in point:

Die Gedanken sind frey,
 Wer kann sie errathen;
 Sie rauschen vorbei
 Wie nächtliche Schatten.
 Kein Mensch kann sie wissen,
 Kein Jäger sie schiessen;
 Es bleibt dabey,
 Die Gedanken sind frey.

We have in these two stanzas not only an exact correspondence in theme, but the stanzas are almost identical in structure, and lines three and seven of Eichendorff's poem correspond with lines two and eight of the Volkslied. The Volkslied appears in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1808), Vol. III, p. 38, under the title "Lied des Verfolgten im Thurm" (Nach Schweizerliedern), a version almost twice the length of the original Volkslied, showing clearly the hand of the editors. The Volkslied stanza above quoted appears, however, without change at the beginning of the song in the *Wunderhorn*.

It is probable that Eichendorff first became acquainted with the folksong in this form, but he no doubt also knew the original, since the song was common in Silesia and had found its way into Hoffmann and Richter's *Schlesische Volkslieder* (Leipzig, 1842), thirteen years before Eichendorff's poem was printed.¹

But with the exception of "Das zerbrochene Ringlein" it is not in his direct copyings of the Volkslied that he has most successfully reproduced its spirit. It is rather in poems like "Studentenfahrt," "Der Glücksritter," and "Der Soldat," songs for which no direct sources have thus far been found in the Volkslied, that he identifies himself most happily with the thoughts, feelings, and manner of speech of the common people.

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¹Cf. also Tobler, *Schweizerische Volkslieder*, Frauenfeld, 1882, p. cxxix.



ALTERNATION IN THE STAGING OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

In his careful discussion of "Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging,"¹ Dr. George F. Reynolds states thus the view of Kilian, Genée, Brandl, and Brodmeier² concerning the nature of the Elizabethan stage:

These writers assume the triple stage [made up of front stage, rear stage, and balcony]; suppose most, if not all, of the properties to have been placed on the rear stage; and by the use of a few of Shakespeare's plays, Brodmeier alone taking account of all, attempt to establish what one may call an alternation staging; that is, that the plays were so constructed that no two differently set scenes on the rear stage ever came directly in succession, but that front and rear stage were used alternately, the rear stage being arranged while the front stage was in use.³

Most alternationists . . . tend to put almost any located scene on the rear stage. But since a clash—that is, the occurrence of two *in* scenes in direct succession—is fatal to the theory, its whole purpose being to avoid breaks and pauses in the action, scenes before and after these *in* scenes must be *out* scenes. Most scenes in some way or other, however, are located, and a large number use doors or balconies or properties [thus showing that they are played on the rear stage, according to Brodmeier], so that usually only short, relatively unimportant scenes remain to be classed as *out*. This, in turn, leads to a greater emphasis than ever on the rear stage, and to classifying as *out* any short scenes of which the purpose is obscure. At once a purpose easily suggests itself for such scenes—they fill the time while the rear stage is being prepared. This is the final result of the theory: authors, in order to secure this alternation, had so to construct their plays that no two *in* scenes should occur together, and actually composed short "carpenter" scenes for this purpose. Alternation becomes therefore a factor in play-construction—it sums up the influence upon the playwright of his theatrical environment.⁴

The present writer has, on a previous occasion, stated this theory of alternation staging in the following manner:

¹ *Modern Philology*, II, 581-614, and III, 69-97.

² Genée, *Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXVI; Kilian, *ibid.*, Vols. XXVIII, XXXVI. Full references in Reynolds, II, 582. The references to Brandl and Brodmeier are given later.

³ II, 582.

⁴ II, 586.

Professor Alois Brandl believes that, inasmuch as the back stage was furnished and arranged to represent in a rough way each specific indoor scene, two back scenes representing decidedly different interiors could not come in succession, since this would give no opportunity to change the furnishings, and the Elizabethan audiences had not learned to wait. In *Antony and Cleopatra* a scene in a room of one palace is free to follow or precede another palace scene, whether in Rome or Alexandria. But Brandl thinks that Shakespeare was compelled to insert at least one front scene whenever two back scenes with different settings would otherwise come together.¹

One method of dramatic presentation employed by the Elizabethans which seems strange to us, was clearly elucidated by Dr. Reynolds for the first time. It is the use of what he calls the symbolic, incongruous stage.

This convention allowed the presence upon the stage of a property or furnishing which was incongruous to the scene in progress, and which, during that scene, was thought of as absent, though standing in plain sight. This incongruity took two forms: either the close juxtaposition upon the stage of two properties which in reality should have been a much greater distance apart, or the presence of a property in a scene where it could never naturally have been; as a tree, for example, in the midst of a room scene. It is directly in contradiction to our modern ideal of securing complete illusion and a perfectly harmonious stage picture.²

The following passages from the conclusion of Dr. Reynolds' dissertation complete the citations which concern us at present:

Which of the four forms of staging—the simple method of the early days, the classical method of *Jocasta*, the alternation staging, or the incongruous—was most prevalent, is a question which must, in the very nature of things, remain open. The classical form could not have been very common, for the plays in their frequent changes of scene would not allow it. The others seem rather to have been used together than in any separate and carefully distinguished way. . . . Absolute tests for both alternation and incongruity are lacking; it is therefore impossible to give any definite answer to the question opening the paragraph. . . . The theory [of alternation] has been supposed to apply where it certainly does not, and its importance overemphasized.³

¹ From "Shakespeare's Stage and Modern Adaptations," *The Views about Hamlet and Other Essays*, Boston, 1904, p. 128. Brandl's view is found in his Introduction to a new edition of the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Shakespeare, Leipzig, 1897.

² III, 69.

³ III, 94, 97.

Without questioning the carefully drawn conclusions of Dr. Reynolds, it is well to ask: Are there any cases in Shakespeare where we can establish a strong probability that some definite group of scenes in a play was presented in accordance with the method of alternate staging? I shall advance the opinion that certain specified scenes in Shakespeare are of such a nature and have such a dramatic context that two things concerning them are highly probable: first, that each of these scenes was played on the front, uncovered portion of the Elizabethan stage as an outdoor scene; second, that, while the scene was being played on the front stage, the back stage, concealed by drawn curtains, was either being cleared away, or was being set for the coming scene, or was being both cleared and set.

If there is any truth whatever in the theory of alternation staging, there would be an especial occasion and reason for it in connection with an indoor scene which called for an unusually elaborate setting of the back stage. Some of these scenes, such as an elaborate judicial proceeding, a coronation, or some other state function, might well require the use of the entire stage; but even though the players overflowed upon the front stage, the properties which especially indicated the indoor nature of the scene would presumably be massed upon the rear stage, which resembled a room in being under cover. Such a scene may be termed a full scene, in distinction from one which is supposed to be confined to either the front or the rear stage. It is well, however, to remember that, when the balcony was employed to represent the summit of the wall of a castle or city, then the rear stage, representing the space immediately before this wall, was conceived as being in the open air.

I desire to show that each of the following five scenes probably owes either its existence or at least the form which it takes to the fact that the method of alternation staging was made use of in that part of the play which is concerned: *Richard II*, III, iv; *The Merchant of Venice*, III, v; *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, i; *Cymbeline*, II, i; *The Winter's Tale*, V, ii.

The scenes will be discussed in this order, which is approximately that in which they were written. There may be other

scenes in Shakespeare which would be equally in point, but I prefer to discuss only these. I am seeking merely to establish the probability of alternation staging in a few selected cases.¹

Richard II, III, iv

In scene iii of Act III, Bolingbroke, York, and others appear before Flint Castle in Wales. Percy enters and informs them that King Richard is within the castle. Bolingbroke tells the lords with him to announce the terms on which he will submit to his sovereign. There is a "*Parle without, and answer within: then a flourish. Enter on the walls, KING RICHARD, the BISHOP OF CARLISLE,*" and others. Later, after a long colloquy, Northumberland calls the King down into "the base court" to speak with Bolingbroke; Richard and his attendants come down from above and enter below (ll. 177, 183, 186). There are no directions at these places in the Folio, but these statements are made entirely certain by the context. The scene soon closes with King Richard's acceptance of Bolingbroke's demand that the banishment of the latter be repealed and his inheritance restored to him.

In this scene the balcony represents the battlements of Flint Castle. Since one of the doors of the rear stage comes into the action, they are both undoubtedly visible all the time, and we are dealing with a rear scene, or better, a full scene. This would be equally true whether the rear stage be of the type seen in the De Witt picture of the Swan Theatre, or be what Dr. Reynolds calls a "corridor stage."² What has been said would not apply to the "alcove" rear stage.³ Dr. Reynolds would "admit the alcove stage as one of the possible forms, if not as the most general form of stage construction"; but says concerning the testimony of the four early pictures:

The Swan [Theatre] could not have had an alcove stage; the Red Bull picture shows no alcove stage; the Roxana and Messalina pictures, though they might be construed to do so, perhaps do not.³

¹The first four of these scenes were stated to be of this kind in the present writer's paper upon "Shakespeare's Stage and Modern Adaptations," *The Views about Hamlet, etc.*, Boston, 1904, p. 128. The scene from *The Winter's Tale* was not mentioned. Two scenes there named, *Richard III, III, vi*, and *Julius Caesar, III, iii*, are less clear, and will not be touched upon. So far as the present writer knows, he is the first to suggest that the scenes from *Richard II, Antony and Cleopatra*, and *The Winter's Tale* are of this kind.

²II, 589.

³II, 604, 603.

Elsewhere he says:

The Messalina and Roxana stages, though they allow the supposition that other doors, not shown in the picture, existed at either side of the stage, hardly suggest any such theory.¹

I will assume it as probable, therefore, that the present play was not intended for a rear stage of the alcove type.

Act IV of this play consists of the long, spectacular scene in Westminster Hall in which King Richard is deposed. The stage-direction in the Folio is: *Enter as to the Parliament, Bulling-brooke, Aumerle, Northumberland, Percie, Fitz-Water, Surrey, Carlile, Abbot of Westminster.* [An unnamed Lord, who speaks ll. 52-56, is omitted.] *Herauld, Officers, and Bagot.* Later York, King Richard, and various attendants join the company already on the stage. If any attempt at realism were made, and the Folio direction suggests such an attempt, this scene would be somewhat elaborately set. The seating of "the Parliament" would be made as impressive as possible. The bringing on and arranging of the seats would require some time, and there may well have been other features of the setting designed to give realistic quality or impressiveness to the scene. How was this time obtained?

Between the two scenes which have just been discussed comes the remarkable pathos scene of the Queen and the Gardener (III, iv). Since this scene closes the act, we naturally think of the act-interval as perhaps occupying some time; but I shall reserve the question of the act-interval for a few remarks near the close of the paper.

In scene iv of Act III, the Queen and her two ladies are walking in the garden of the Duke of York. When the Gardener and his two servants come in to their labors, the ladies step aside in order to overhear what they will say, the Queen feeling sure that they "will talk of state." In dignified blank verse the Gardener and his men interpret their garden as an allegory of a rightly ordered kingdom. When at last the Gardener declares that King Richard is to be deposed, the Queen comes forward and utters passionate lamentations.

¹ II, 592, 593.

Professor Herford well says that the Queen "has no other *raison d'être* in the drama than at intervals to reinforce our difficult and precarious pity for the king."¹ But her forebodings of evil in II, ii, followed by her grief at the evil news that Bolingbroke has landed, are an entirely natural and organic part of the play; so are the farewells of herself and Richard in V, i. The scene now before us, however, with its gardener and servants discoursing on state-craft in formal blank-verse, and almost binding up "dangling apricocks" to slow music, seems forced and artificial for Shakespeare at this stage of his development. I offer the suggestion that this artificial outdoor scene owes its existence, in part at least, to the dramatist's desire to present something upon the front stage while the rear stage, shut off by curtains, was being prepared for the spectacular deposition scene.

Scene i of Act V, which immediately follows the deposing of King Richard, takes place upon a street leading to the Tower. It is the farewell of King and Queen already alluded to. As an outdoor scene it would naturally be played on the front stage. During its progress the rear stage could easily be cleared.

The Merchant of Venice, III, v

Scene iv of Act III takes place in a room in Portia's house in Belmont, and presumably was played upon the rear stage. The great trial scene before the Duke, Act IV, scene i, while primarily an indoor scene and belonging especially to the rear stage, undoubtedly overflowed upon the front stage, and was a full scene. The opening direction in the Folio is: *Enter the Duke, the Magnificoes, Anthonio, Bassanio, and Gratiano*. Soon Shylock enters, later the disguised Portia and Nerissa. This scene was probably presented with all the pomp and display then attainable; this would concern especially the costumes worn, but some care would naturally be expended in preparing the rear stage.

The scene that comes between these two that have just been described may well be in the main a stop-gap, planned to interest the audience while the rear stage is being made ready for the trial scene. The act-divisions of *The Merchant of Venice* are given in

¹ *The Eversley Shakespeare*, VI, 130.

the First Folio; the scene-divisions are not indicated, but seem to be clear. The scene in question appears to be laid in Portia's garden. Launcelot begins by insisting to Jessica that her father's sins will be laid upon her; "therefore be of good cheer, for truly I think you are damned." Jessica pleads that her husband has made her a Christian; but Launcelot blames him for this very thing. "This making of Christians will raise the price of hogs: if we grow all to be pork-eaters, we shall not shortly have a rasher on the coals for money." Lorenzo entering, Jessica reports to him their conversation. Lorenzo answers with a charge against the jesting servant: "the Moor is with child by you, Launcelot." This turn is most uncalled for, a gratuitous blot upon our happy Launcelot and upon a charming play. Lorenzo next commands Launcelot, "Go in, sirrah; bid them prepare for dinner." Launcelot quibbles over the meaning of Lorenzo's words. At last the latter insists that the servant shall "understand a plain man in his plain meaning," and the servant goes into the house. Jessica then utters a panegyric upon Portia, declaring enthusiastically that "the poor rude world hath not her fellow." With some charming banter between the young bride and groom the scene closes.

Now what is this scene for? It does furnish relief before the intense trial scene, and to some this will seem a sufficient reason for its existence. The feature in it that bears most directly upon the play is Jessica's tribute to Portia; but a few added lines in the moonlight scene would have served just as well. All the rest of the scene is superfluous, and one feature, as has been noted, is also offensive. Although the scene gives some charming humorous relief, I suggest, on the whole, that Shakespeare, having nothing to do while the rear stage is being prepared, is here doing nothing in an interesting way.

The two scenes which follow the trial before the Duke are played out of doors, one on a street of Venice, the other, the moonlight scene in Portia's garden at Belmont. These are presumably played on the front stage, and the rear stage is not again needed.

Antony and Cleopatra, III, i

On one occasion, while reading scene i of Act III of *Antony and Cleopatra*, the thought suddenly flashed upon me that the scene is decidedly superfluous, not a necessary part of the play. The idea came quite independently of any theory about the Elizabethan stage. And is there any weighty reason why we should follow thus carefully the campaign of Ventidius against the Parthians? What are the Parthians to us? To be sure, the scene is prepared for in II, iv, where Antony dispatched Ventidius to Parthia. The practical wisdom of Ventidius in III, i, his shrewd philosophy of life, is so excellent in itself that it blinds us to the superfluousness of the scene. He has just routed the Parthians. Silius urges him to complete the victory. Ventidius replies:

O Silius, Silius,

I have done enough; a lower place, note well,
 May make too great an act: for learn this, Silius;
 Better to leave undone, than by our deed
 Acquire too high a fame when him we serve's away.
 Caesar and Antony have ever won
 More in their officer than person: Sossius,
 One of my place in Syria, his lieutenant,
 For quick accumulation of renown,
 Which he achieved by the minute, lost his favour.
 Who does i' the wars more than his captain can
 Becomes his captain's captain: and ambition,
 The soldier's virtue, rather makes choice of loss,
 Than gain which darkens him.
 I could do more to do Antonius good,
 But 'twould offend him; and in his offence
 Should my performance perish.

Silius. Thou hast, Ventidius, that
 Without the which a soldier, and his sword,
 Grants scarce distinction. Thou wilt write to Antony?
Ventidius. I'll humbly signify what in his name,
 That magical word of war, we have effected.¹

It is noticeable that this scene comes just after the remarkable banquet and revel upon Pompey's galley, II, vii, and just before a scene in Caesar's house at Rome, III, ii, though act and scene divisions are not marked in the Folio. How much of an attempt

¹ III, i, 11-31.

was made to indicate the interior of a galley, is a question. By 1607 or 1608 the management of the Globe Theatre would probably attempt some verisimilitude in such a matter.

Brodmeier supposes that the entire preparation of the rear stage to represent the interior of Pompey's galley in II, vii, takes place while the servants who bring on the banquet are speaking the first nineteen lines.¹ Although the preceding scene has been played in the open air upon the front stage, Pompey and his force have entered "*at one doore*" and the triumvirs and their soldiers "*at another*"; and the doors seem not to have been covered during the entire scene.

The direction of the Folio at the beginning of II, vii, reads in full:

Musicke playes.
Enter two or three Servants with a Banquet.

The purpose of the music seems to be to occupy the time while the rear stage is being set, presumably behind drawn curtains. When all other preparations are completed, including the bringing on of a table and seats for about a dozen persons, then apparently the music ceases, the curtains open, and the banquet is brought on by those who are to serve it. While doing this the servants talk most incisively about the drunkenness and weakness of Lepidus.

The scene between Ventidius and Silius that has already been discussed, III, i, would give an opportunity for clearing away this banquet, after the close of II, vii, and for transforming the rear stage from the cabin of Pompey's galley to a room in Caesar's house. I suggest that the scene was inserted primarily for this purpose.

Cymbeline, II, i

We can be sure that several bulky properties were employed in presenting scene ii of Act II of *Cymbeline*. The opening direction in the Cambridge Shakespeare reads: "*Imogen's bedchamber in Cymbeline's palace: a trunk in one corner of it. IMOGEN in bed, reading; a Lady attending.*" This is an interpretation and expansion of the naive Folio direction, *Enter Imogen, in her*

¹ *Die Shakespeare-Bühne nach den alten Bühnenanweisungen*, Weimar, 1904, p. 80.

Bed, and a Lady. After l. 10 the usual editions add only one word to the direction of the Folio, *Sleepes. Iachimo [comes] from the Trunke.* At l. 50 the *Clocke strikes.* The *Exit* of the Folio which closes the scene, the Cambridge edition expands into *Goes into the trunk. The scene closes.*

Imogen has been reading three hours when the scene opens. She says to the lady in waiting,

Take not away the taper, leave it burning.

As Iachimo bends over the sleeping Imogen, he says:

the flame o' the taper
Bows toward her, and would under-peep her lids.

So far the scene requires the following properties, not including Imogen's book and bracelet: a bed with the proper covering, the trunk containing Iachimo, a lighted taper and a stand, and a clock, though this was undoubtedly manipulated behind the stage. The following words of Iachimo demand some further properties, though we do not know how realistically the stage was set:

But my design,
To note the chamber: I will write all down:
Such and such pictures; there the window; such
The adornment of her bed; the arras; figures,
Why, such and such; and the contents o' the story.

In II, iv, when Iachimo convinces Posthumus that Imogen has sinned, this chamber is very elaborately described.

It was hang'd
With tapestry of silk and silver; the story
Proud Cleopatra, when she met her Roman,
And Cydnus swell'd above the banks, or for
The press of boats or pride: a piece of work
So bravely done, so rich, that it did strive
In workmanship and value
The chimney
Is south the chamber, and the chimney-piece
Chaste Dian bathing: never saw I figures
So likely to report themselves: the cutter
Was as another nature, dumb; outwent her,
Motion and breath left out
The roof o' the chamber

With golden cherubins is fretted: her andirons—
I had forgot them—were two winking Cupids
Of silver, each on one foot standing, nicely
Depending on their brands.¹

According to the First Folio only one scene has intervened since the audience beheld this very room. Undoubtedly the chamber as seen did not wholly justify this glowing description; but was it not made to conform to it in a general way?

There is good reason for believing that the setting of the stage received greatly increased attention during the closing years of Shakespeare's career. Beginning about 1608, the masque came to its full development and to exceptional popularity under the leadership of Ben Jonson. Not only should we expect the remarkable scenic effects produced in the masques to exert an influence upon the public stage, but it is a simple matter of fact that Shakespeare's last plays, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*, contain masques and masque-like features. Professor Thorndike believes that the dance of satyrs in *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 352, was borrowed from Jonson's *Masque of Oberon*, presented January 1, 1611.² In *The Tempest* Shakespeare wrote what may fairly be called a masque-drama, making use in a really organic and expressive way of spectacular elements suggested by the fashion of the day. At one and the same time, he followed the fashion, filled his pockets, satisfied his artist soul, and left to after-time a "great legacy of thought."

It will be well to reproduce from the First Folio a few of the most striking stage-directions of these last plays. After Posthumus falls asleep at line 29 of *Cymbeline*, V, iv, we learn from the direction that the ghosts of his father, his mother, and his brothers enter to *Solemne Musicke*, and circle around him as he lies sleeping. At l. 92 we have the direction: *Iupiter descends in Thunder and Lightning, sitting upon an Eagle: he throwes a Thunder-bolt. The Ghostes fall on their knees.*

At l. 113 *Jupiter Ascends*; and at l. 122 the ghosts *Vanish*.

The Tempest begins with *A tempestuous noise of Thunder and Lightning heard*. The elaborate directions of our modern editions

¹ Ll. 68-91.

² *Publications Modern Language Association*, XV (N. S. VIII, 1900), 116.

for III, iii, are copied almost exactly from the Folio. That at l. 52 reads: *Thunder and Lightning. Enter Ariell (like a Harpey) claps his wings upon the Table, and with a quient device the Banquet vanishes.*

When Prospero suddenly puts an end to the masque of goddesses at l. 138 of IV, i, the Folio tells us:

Enter certaine Reapers (properly habited:) they ioyne with the Nimpes, in a gracefull dance, towards the end whereof, Prospero starts sodainly and speakes, after which to a strange hollow and confused noyse, they heavily vanish.

We can be sure that the production of these elaborate stage-effects would lead to increased care in the setting of more realistic scenes. In particular, the scene in the chamber of Imogen, which we have been discussing, was undoubtedly presented with a care and a fulness of detail that would not have been expected a few years earlier.

Scene i of Act II, which precedes this one in Imogen's bedchamber, takes place out of doors, that is upon the uncovered front stage. In it Cloten makes a full display of his clownish, braggart nature; but practically nothing else is accomplished for the play, although the Second Lord soliloquizes concerning the wonder that Cloten's crafty mother "should yield the world this ass," and upon the unhappy situation of the "divine Imogen." I would suggest that this unessential front scene is inserted here in order that the rear stage, which has just served in I, vi, as the room in which Imogen receives Iachimo, may be transformed into her bedchamber, in readiness for II, ii.

But how were the settings of the bedchamber cleared away? Brodmeier believes that in the next scene, II, iii, the musicians play and sing upon the front stage, and that during this time the rear stage, concealed by drawn curtains, is being cleared. With the going away of the musicians and the entry of Cymbeline and the Queen, the curtains are again opened, and the scene gradually transfers itself to the back stage. When Cloten is left alone, he knocks upon the door of the tiring-room, which serves as the door of Imogen's chamber.¹

¹ Brodmeier, pp. 58, 79.

The varying subject-matter of the scene suits well with this bold conjecture. The gathering of the musicians and the serenade seem to belong in the open air; and the words of the wonderful song—"Hark, hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings"—fairly demand that they be sung under the open sky. Brodmeier says that Cloten and his companions "appear on the front stage as in a 'Vorzimmer' to Imogen's bedchamber"; but the bare front stage would more naturally be accepted by the audience as indicating an outdoor scene. The latter part of II, iii, is located within the palace before the door of Imogen's chamber—especially the private colloquy between Cloten and Imogen's waiting-woman, and Imogen's bitter words to Cloten. This portion would be presented on the rear stage.

The Winter's Tale, V, ii

Students of Shakespeare have been very much puzzled by the fact that the reconciliation of Leontes and Polixenes, and the discovery of the parentage of Perdita, of which we learn in scene ii of Act V of *The Winter's Tale*, are merely reported by certain gentlemen of the court, who have no claim upon our interest, and whose affected language seems at times decidedly inappropriate. We should expect these occurrences to be acted out before us and to enthrall us with their joy and pathos. The description of the statue of Hermione, "newly performed by the rare Italian master, Julio Romano," is, to be sure, a most helpful touch of preparation for the close of the play. After the Shepherd and Clown enter, we have some deliciously naive comedy. The Clown insists:

I was a gentleman born before my father; for the king's son took me by the hand, and called me brother; and then the two kings called my father brother; and then the prince my brother and the princess my sister called my father father; and so we wept, and there was the first gentleman-like tears that ever we shed.

Shepherd. We may live, son, to shed many more.

Clown. Ay; or else 'twere hard luck, being in so preposterous estate as we are.¹

This touch of humor gives a helpful bit of relief before the intense statue scene. The scene-divisions are taken from the First Folio.

¹ Ll. 150-159.

Why was this scene put into narrative? Would it not have been true in this case that "things seen are mightier than things heard"? Dr. Furness, in his monumental edition of this play, brings together the answers of a number of critics to this question, and then adds an entirely new explanation of his own. I indicate by brief quotations the more important suggestions.

It was, I suppose, only to spare his own labor that the poet put this whole scene into narrative, . . . the two kings might have met upon the stage, and, after the examination of the old Shepherd, the young lady might have been recognized in sight of the spectators.¹

Probably this scene is given in narrative that the paramount interest of the play may rest, as it ought to do, with the restoration of Hermione.²

What was Shakespeare's motive for conveying by narrative what he might have made so pathetic in representation? This is the more strange and provoking, inasmuch as narrative is by no means his forte, except when it is combined with action or passion; and those euphuistic gentlemen talk mere epigram and antithesis. . . . I suspect Shakespeare was hurried in his latter scenes, and could compose this sort of dialogue with the least aid from inspiration.³

The poet has wisely placed this recognition of Perdita behind the scenes, otherwise the play would have been too full of powerful scenes. . . . The mere relation of this meeting is in itself a rare masterpiece of prose description.⁴

It is easy to see that Shakespeare was here in a hurry to conclude; the play would have been complete had that which is here narrated been placed on the stage.⁵

Shakespeare gives merely a description of the reconciliation of Leontes and Polixenes and of the recognition of Perdita, either out of regard to the scheme of the play, which is already long drawn out, or else to avoid weakening the effect of the final scene by having it preceded by one of a similar purport. . . . It is manifest that the Poet devoted an especial care to this portion of his drama; the antitheses and parallelisms are arranged artistically, the metaphors and the style are harmoniously rounded. We have an amusing offset to the ceremonious and artistic prose of the earlier portion of the scene in the downright prose of the two Clowns with their delicious simplicity over their newly born nobility.⁶

Is it not allowable to suppose that Shakespeare was afraid of his actors? He knew, none so well, how easily deep and tragic emotion may be converted by a single false expression into not merely comedy, but even farce. . . . Let us vividly picture to ourselves what might be fairly termed the joyous, ebullient antics of Leontes, first begging pardon of Polixenes, then hugging Florizel, then worrying Perdita with his embraces,

¹Johnson. ²Harness. ³Hartley Coleridge. ⁴Gervinus. ⁵Guizot. ⁶Delius.

then wringing the old Shepherd's hand, who was crying vigorously and probably with superfluous noise,—and I think we shall be quite aware that unless all the characters were assumed by actors of commanding power, the scene would degenerate into farce and end amid uproarious jeers.¹

Hartley Coleridge and Guizot believe that Shakespeare has here lost a great dramatic opportunity; and I had long been inclined to agree with them. I cannot think that the dramatist's hurry or his desire to avoid labor are probable explanations of the difficulty. There may seem to be some force in the suggestion of Harness; but our interest in Perdita hardly rivals or imperils that which Hermione inspires. The mother lives in the daughter, and shares all her glory. The theory of Gervinus that the play was in danger of being "too full of powerful scenes," and that of Delius that it was necessary "to avoid weakening the effect of the final scene by having it preceded by one of a similar purport," deserve due consideration. But would not the ecstatic joy at the recovery of Perdita be in decided contrast with the religious solemnity of that intense moment when Hermione, the statue, flushes into life, and comes back to the world of human love? Though the two scenes are in some ways similar, are they not in many ways contrasted?

The acute suggestion of Dr. Furness, the honored master of us all, is very fascinating. But is there anything for which Shakespeare is unwilling to trust his actors? The first condition and the constant necessity of dramatic writing is that the actors be trusted. And is it probable that the dramatist who had trusted them for *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*, and who trusts them here for the great statue scene, mutilated his play at this point because he was afraid of them? I confess that I am "afraid of" this ingenious explanation.

It is a complete anticlimax, after all the wealth of critical sagacity that has been expended upon this scene, to suggest that it owes its present form to the need of an open-air, front scene, during the progress of which the rear stage may be carefully arranged for the crowning statue scene. The reconciliation of the two kings and the discovery of Perdita's identity have taken place in the privacy of the palace, but the news at once flies about the

¹ Furness.

streets. During this scene of narration, the rear stage, which has just served as a room in Leontes' palace, can be transformed into the interior of a chapel in Paulina's house, where, upon a pedestal behind a curtain, stands the waiting statue.

Since Hermione and Perdita appear together only in the closing scene, where Perdita speaks but five lines, a modern star actress sometimes takes both roles, another person assuming the part of Perdita during this final scene. It is quite conceivable that Shakespeare's company might give both parts to some young man especially gifted in presenting female roles. The remarkable likeness between mother and daughter which the play demands would thus be assured. The absence of both Hermione and Perdita from V, ii, would facilitate this arrangement. It is possible that this suggestion furnishes a further explanation of the fact that Perdita is not allowed to appear in person in this scene.

If the intense power of the final scene was duly brought out in Shakespeare's own day—and we must suppose that in some good measure it was—great care was necessarily given to the proper arrangement of the rear stage. There is perhaps nothing else so fine in the literature of this play as the comments of Lady Martin (Helen Faucit). She tells us of the religious care which she bestowed upon every detail of this great scene, until at last, as one critic of her acting expresses it, "the solemnized hearts of the spectators were free to beat once more." In Shakespeare's day also, the preparation for that thrilling experience when the statue comes to life and descends from its pedestal would naturally be made with the utmost care. We have seen that the preceding scene has perplexed the critics, and that no two of them agree in explaining its peculiar character. The reason that has been indicated, drawn from practical stage convenience, would explain both the form of the scene and why it is that we have such puzzled and contradictory interpretations from the commentators.

CONCLUSION

I have made no account in this paper of intermissions between the acts. That there were often such intermissions we know. There was either music alone, or both music and dancing, at the end of

each of the first three acts of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, as is made plain by the comments of the Citizen's Wife. At the beginning of Act III of Middleton's *The Changeling*, the stage-direction reads: "In the act-time DE FLORES hides a naked rapier behind a door."¹ There is abundant evidence to show that there were often intermissions between the acts.²

Two different writers have recently called attention to evidence which seems to indicate that in the performances at the Globe Theatre there was no music between the acts, and presumably there were no act-intervals.

The Malcontent was first played at Blackfriars in the spring of 1603. During the unsettled state of affairs of that year . . . it fell into the hands of the Burbage company, who cut out the music elements, in the main, because that company could not present them, as the following from the *Induction* spoken in 1604 from the Globe stage indicates:—

"*Sly*. What are your additions?

Burbage. Sooth, not greatly needful; only as your salad to your great feast, to entertain a little more time, and to abridge the not-received custom of music in our theatre."³

Professor Wallace, in his most interesting and valuable work, interprets this passage as showing that "the public theatres had not yet in 1604 adopted the music introductions and interspersions of the private house."⁴

In an article in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* of 1908, on "Music in the Elizabethan Theatre," Mr. W. J. Lawrence comments as follows upon the above "curious passage in Webster's induction to the augmented version of *The Malcontent* (as acted by the King's players at the Globe in 1604)":

"To abridge the not receiv'd custom of musick in our theatre," plainly means that the Blackfriars' custom of playing inter-act music had little or no recognition at the Globe. It certainly cannot be taken to indicate that musicians had no employment at the famous Bankside house, where, as at other public theatres, songs, dances, and the rhymed musical monologues and farces known as jigs had to be accompanied. The inference would be that whereas (from, say, 1598 onwards) the private theatres made

¹ The Mermaid Middleton, I, 115; and Bullen's Middleton, VI, 43.

² See Reynolds, II, 610, n.; also W. J. Lawrence, "Music in the Elizabethan Theatre," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLIV, 37-39.

³ C. W. Wallace, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, 1597-1603, p. 116, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

a regular feature of inter-act music, the public theatres for the most part avoided it. For this diversity in routine a reason can readily be found. . . . Acting at the private theatres was by artificial light, and the higher prices of admission charged there were as much to cover the extra expense of candles or torches as to keep out the rabble. The saving of time was no serious object; acting could be proceeded with leisurely, and inter-act music indulged in. But the twenty years' experience between the building of the Theatre and the Globe had taught the players the necessary limitations. Where performances were given by natural light, and in a climate where clear skies could seldom be reckoned upon even in summer, the tendency would be to eliminate everything extraneous.¹

It seems probable, therefore, that nearly all of Shakespeare's plays were originally intended to be performed without intermissions between the acts. It is not safe to insist that this is true for all the plays. The following words of Professor Wallace suggest that there may be some exceptions:

Soon after the Burbage company took over the Blackfriars (1608), they began to develop this [the musical] side of their performance on the lines followed by the former Boys there. Certain of the Boys were taken into the Burbage company at this time. Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is probably his first play written for the Blackfriars.²

I am well aware that I have not proved the fact of alternation staging in the original presentation of even these few selected portions of Shakespeare's plays. A large amount of hypothesis and uncertainty is at present unavoidable. The probability of my contention I must leave to others.

I have discussed five scenes of Shakespeare which it seems difficult to account for on purely artistic and dramatic grounds. These all come in immediate connection with indoor scenes which call for a somewhat elaborate setting of the stage. I have suggested that these questionable scenes in their actual form are due to the practical difficulties in staging the plays; that in them Shakespeare is occupying the time as best he can while the rear stage is being set, or being cleared away; that he is simply obeying one of the earliest maxims that he penned, and making "a virtue of necessity."

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¹ *Jahrbuch*, XLIV, 39, 40.

² *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, 1597-1603, p. 10, and n. 3.

